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T R A V E L L E R S

ALPHABET

G E R M A N Y

T R A V E L S
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G E R M A N Y.

I N A
S E R I E S O F L E T T E R S ;

W R I T T E N I N G E R M A N

B Y T H E B A R O N R I E S B E C K ,

A N D T R A N S L A T E D B Y

T H E R E V . M R . M A T Y ,

L A T E S E C R E T A R Y T O T H E R O Y A L S O C I E T Y , A N D U N D E R
L I B R A R I A N T O T H E B R I T I S H M U S E U M .

I N T W O V O L U M E S .

V O L . I .

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M.DCC.LXXXVII.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Letters were written in the German Language by the Baron Caspar Riefbeck, a native of the Dutchy of Wurtemberg.

As the Author has assumed the character of a Frenchman, it has been presumed, that he was of that nation: But, besides that the work was never published in France, the freedom and severity with which he every where treats the natives of that country,

con-

convey sufficient proof that he did not belong to it himself. He died February 5, 1786, of a fever, at Aran in Switzerland, aged thirty years.

The many inaccuracies * which may be found scattered up and down in the Translation, will meet with some apology in the bosom of the candid, when they are pleased to consider the painful and tedious illness, under which the Translator laboured, and which at last put a period to his life. And if the Reader, in the perusal of the Work, should meet with passages which have the appearance of indelicacy, he may be assured that many more are omitted, which may be found in the original, and even those which remain, hardly sufficient to give offence to the most scrupulous, were intended to have been expunged by the Translator, whose purity of thought could only be surpassed by the purity
of

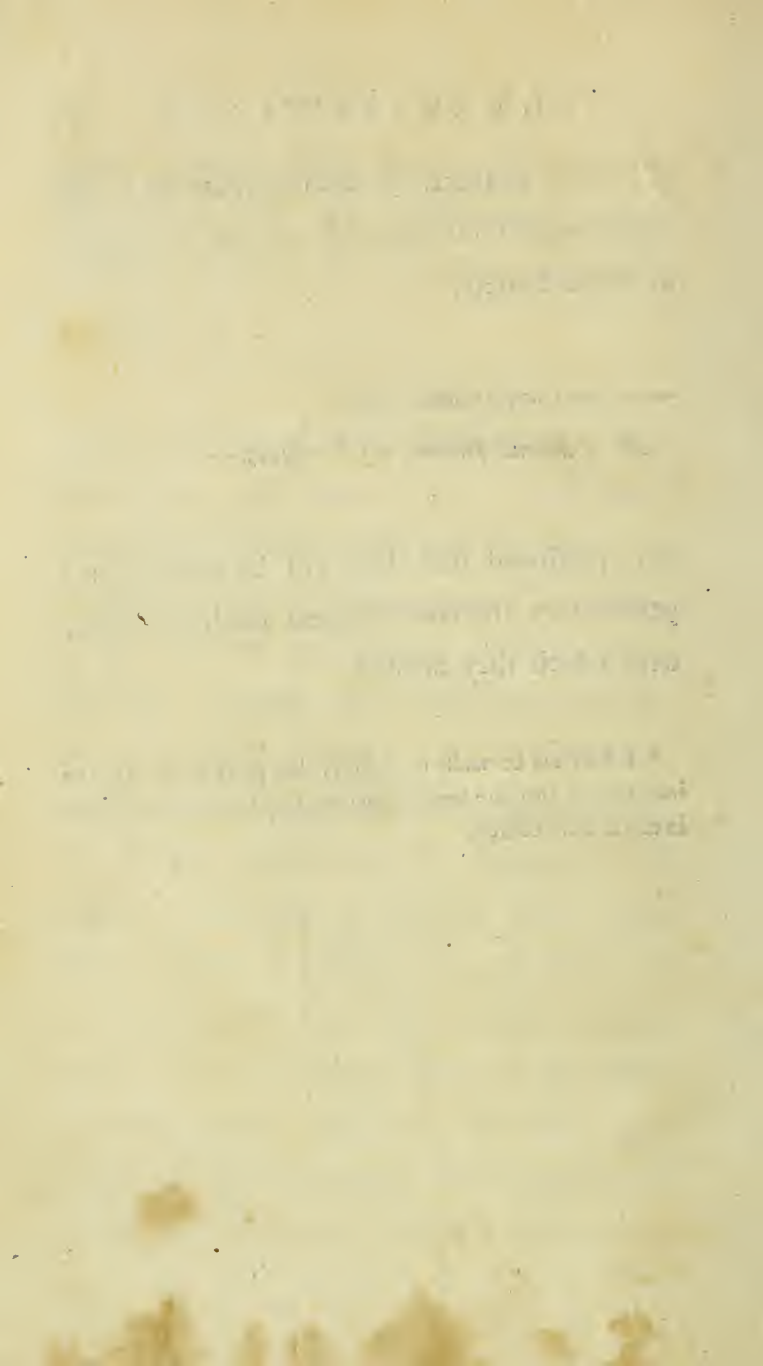
of his life. In short, whatever inaccuracies* may have escaped the attention of the Translator of these Letters,

— *quas aut incuria fudit,*

Aut humana parum cavit natura—

it is presumed that they will be amply compensated by the entertainment and information, with which they abound.

* It may not be amiss to observe, that great numbers of the inaccuracies that are here apologized for, have been corrected in this Dublin edition.



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T R A V E L S
T H R O U G H
G E R M A N Y.

L E T T E R I.

Stuttgatt, April 3, 1780.

Dear Brother,

HERE I have pitched my first camp, and intend to make excursions from hence into the different parts of Suabia, according as opportunities offer.

I have made it a rule to myself to take particular parts of Germany as middle points, and from thence to ramble round the country till I have seen all that I think worth notice. It is my

intention to *study* Germany thoroughly, without, however, extending my inquiries to the numberless landgraviates, margraviates, baronies, republics, &c. &c. As to these, it is doing them honour enough to say that they exist.

You know that I stay'd some time in Strafsburg, as well for the sake of learning to speak a little German, as to make myself acquainted, by the help of maps and books, with the country I mean to travel through. In this pursuit I found more assistance than I could have expected, and it is certainly not the fault of the German geographers and politicians that their country is so little known by foreigners.

Having sometimes been so kind as to allow me a genius for the observation of men and manners, you may reasonably expect something more in my letters than what you have commonly met with in our French and English travellers. These, indeed, have usually been gentlemen, who having travelled in close post-chaises to the great courts, as if (as Yorick says) they were riding post from death, have given us the few anecdotes they have picked up, either at the post-house, whilst they were changing horses, or from their bankers, or from their opera-girls, as true accounts of the state of manners, legislation, religion, &c. of the country.

A man who would know all orders of people, should mix with them all; but this is what a common traveller seldom either can or will do; on the contrary, they are generally compelled to live in a narrow circle, where they hear of nothing but the pleasures and occupations of the company; therefore, again, a man must be a studious traveller by profession, to enter into the peculiarities of a whole people. After all, let him be ever so willing, and ever so well prepared, he will find it more difficult to know Germany than any other country; for it is not here as in France, where, as all *apè* the manners of the capital, by going thither you see all, as it were, in the compass of a nut-shell. In Germany there is no town which regulates the manners of the whole, but the country is divided into a numberless variety of large and small states, differing from each other in religion, government, opinions, &c. and which have no band of union whatever, except their common language.

You know that I commonly travel on foot when I cannot get into a public land or water carriage; but these are inexpressibly pleasant to me, on account of the company I meet in them, even should that company happen to consist only of Jews, Capuchins, and old women.

You know too that I am enough a citizen of the world to find some good out of my own country, and not to be outrageously out of humour when all is not as it is at home.

You may depend on receiving one letter at least every week, in which you will have an account either of a German town or of some part of the country. General observations I must, of course, defer to the end, when I shall have put together the several broken parts of the narrative. I shall not trouble you with any of the nonsense which you must have enough of in our daily publications.

L E T T E R II.

Stuttgart, April 10, 1780.

I HOPE that you received my letter of the third, which was intended as a kind of introduction to our future correspondence. Though I know how odious letter-writing is to you, I must nevertheless insist on an answer to every six of mine, and if you cannot bring yourself to sit down to work, desire Nannette to do it for you.—But to my diary: As I was getting into the post-waggon at Strasburg, who should come in, in a post-chaise and four, but Mr. B—! No doubt,

doubt, you must have seen him at Paris at Madame H——'s. 'Whither,' says he, 'so fast?' 'A pilgrimage through Germany,' says I.—'Out upon the stupid country,' says he; 'I have just travelled over it, but in truth it is not worth the trouble.' At first I thought that he must at least have made some stay in some of the principal German towns; but when I came to inquire, I found that what he called having travelled over the stupid country, was a small excursion from Switzerland, through part of Suabia and Bavaria, as far as Munich, and from thence into France again by Augsburg, Ulm, and Friburg. As there happened to be a map of Germany behind the door of the post-house, with the point of my sword I traced the parts of the country he had been over, and shewed him, that far from having travelled through Germany, he had scarce seen any part of it; but this did not affect him at all: 'Go you,' says he, 'go you; for my part I have seen it.'

My company consisted of a wine merchant from Ulm, with a melancholy face, who was always shaking his lips as if he had tasted four wine, and an elderly lady, who said she was hired as a governess in a great house at Vienna. As neither of these companions had any peculiar charms for me, I amused myself as we travelled along the banks of the Rhine, with considering the idea
 persons

persons who live in the great Parisian world entertain of what they call with us *le Nord*. I had been led into this by the gasconade of M. B—, and the sight of the German post-map. *Here*, then, thought I to myself (as I run over in my mind that track of country which reaches from the spot I was then on to the frozen sea), in ancient times dwelt the Cimbri, the Goths, the Franks, the Saxons, the Suabians, and the Allemanni; and here now are the Swedes, the Prussians, and the Russians; and all this great country, together with the formidable possessors of it, we dispose of in a word that conveys much the same ideas to the readers as *les Pais Bas*, the Low Countries. *Les Pais Bas* and the *Nord*, a Frenchman considers as only so many dependencies on the omnipotent France. There is really nothing to be said to this but what Tristram Shandy says upon a like occasion: ‘The French have a pleasant way of treating all great matters.’ I could not help laughing inwardly as these thoughts came into my head, and the sight of the ruined fortifications of Kehl gave my laughter fresh force, from the recollection that the mighty Louis, whose great mind had it in contemplation to annex the small dependencies of the *Nord* and the *pais bas*, together with Italy, Spain, &c. to the French monarchy, had built this fort as a key to his conquests on the other side the Rhine.

‘By

‘By my troth,’ said I, as I considered the barracks and vestiges of the old fortifications, ‘this is pleasant.’—And it is pleasanter still, that Beaumarchais means to print his Voltaire in these barracks. ‘In the name of merriment,’ said I, (and my internal laugh then broke out) ‘is the great France grown too small, since the days of the mighty Louis, to hold a dozen letter presses in it?’

The small contraband trade with Strasburg excepted, France has nothing to fear from this same Kehl. The place, which is contemptible in every respect, belongs, with some other villages, to the margraves of Baden, but the states of the Holy Roman Empire claim a right to the ruined fortifications.

The way to Carlsruhe raised many thoughts in my mind. On sight of the castle of Raftadt, where a termination was put to the war between France and Austria in 1714, I felt myself a Frenchman all over. All the great chiefs and statesmen, who, from the beginning of the last century to this period, had adorned our annals, and set us far above the nations of the earth, seemed to rise before me, and I sat for some time in a kind of trance, fighting their battles and inventing their civil improvements over again.—In an unlucky minute, however, I was awakened by the recollection that this was now all at an end ;

end : that in 1714 our greatness terminated ; that my country no longer produced great men ; and that the powers whom we had then sunk so low were now rising, nay, that some of them had already risen, to sink us. I would then have wished to have forgotten that I was a Frenchman, and sought for consolation in the thought of being a citizen of the world, and that much as we had lost, Europe in general had gained still more in the time that had elapsed ; but this was impossible ; the traces of desolation which many of our generals had left in the places I was travelling through, made me lament my having been so proud of their exploits before.

I stayed some time at Carlsruhe, and was lucky enough to get acquainted with a gentleman, who, to the best of hearts, an excellent understanding, and unremitting exertions in the service of his prince, unites a very fine taste for German, French, and English literature. The court of Carlsruhe possesses many such persons, some of whom I had been fortunate enough to know at Strasburg. With this gentleman I went to Spire to visit some of his relations. Our way lay by Bruchsal, the residence of the Bishop of Spire. The country we went through had many woods, which, however, were broken by a few well-cultivated vales. These woods, the timber of which is carried to Holland (where it sells
very

very well) by the Rhine, makes a great part of the revenue of the courts of Spires and Carlfruhe. The wood through which we travelled afforded a striking instance of the advantage an hereditary kingdom has over an elective one. The woods of Baden are kept up with the greatest œconomy and attention, because the prince knows they will be sources of wealth to his remotest descendants; whereas at Bruchfal, where the descendants of the prince have nothing to hope, every thing gives way to present enjoyment.—It is needless to add that in this respect the woods are an emblem of the whole country.

Bruchfal is a pretty little town, and the bishop's palace a handsome building. The present prince bishop, some effusions of ill humour only excepted, is no bad governor. This humour principally shews itself against the young women. I am *assured* that if he could he would make all the girls nuns. He cannot see one without falling into a passion. His revenue is about three hundred thousand florins, or thirty thousand pounds *per annum*, and I am sorry to add that he is by no means one of the richest bishops in Germany.

Spires is a small free city, which was formerly handsomer than it is now; towards the end of the last century it was entirely destroyed by the French army; since that time it has long lain in ruins, and is now hardly above half built up again.

again. It was one of the first Roman colonies on the banks of the Rhine, and many Roman coins are still found in the country.

Here, brother, I was in the midst of that theatre from whence, in the last century, our troops spread desolation from the Rhine to the Moselle; where Melac, appearing not as the leader of a mighty host, but the head of a murderous band, laid sixty flourishing towns in ashes, and made a desert of one of the finest countries on earth! Where Turenne, the greatest general of the greatest monarch in the world, answered the generous elector, who, struck with the wrongs his country was enduring, would bravely have risked his life for his country, and challenged the incendiary to single combat, with a bon mot, saying, ‘that since he had the honour to serve the king of France, he fought only at the head of twenty thousand men.’ How little in my eyes did then appear the great Turenne, whose bon-mot, turned into common-sense, amounted to no more than this: ‘These twenty thousand men give me a right to lay your country in ashes!’

My friend carried me to the cathedral, half of which is still in ruins. Here I saw the tombs of the old emperors, whose sepulchres our soldiers plundered, and whose bones they strewed on the ground. ‘This happened,’ said my friend, ‘in your golden age, under Louis the Fourteenth,

‘teenth,

‘teenth, when your greatest poets, reasoners,
 ‘and philosophers flourished; when you were
 ‘supposed to have arrived at the highest pitch
 ‘of polish of which a nation is capable; when
 ‘we Germans were no more in your sight
 ‘than so many Cherokees; and some of your
 ‘academicians had the insolence to propose, as a
 ‘question fit for discussion, “Whether it was
 “possible that a German should have any *es-*
 “*prit*?”—Brother, I was almost ashamed to be
 a Frenchman.

Both at Spires and Bruchsal I found, in the few houses where we made our flying visits, more ease and knowledge of the world than I expected. I remarked that people are very fond of strangers in this country.

I reckon the few days I spent at Carlsruhe amongst the happiest of my life. I saw a prince who truly lives only for his people, and seeks his own happiness in theirs; one whose active and enlightened mind pervades the whole country, and by its influence makes all those who have a share in the administration patriots like himself. Education, police, encouragements to industry and agriculture; every thing, in short, here breathes a spirit of philosophy and the warm love of mankind. O that I could make many millions as happy as the margrave of Baden makes two hundred thousand men!

After

After the electors, and the houses of Wirtemberg and Hesse Cassel, the margrave of Baden is one of the greatest potentates in Germany. The Princes of Bareith and Darmstadt are the only ones who can enter into any competition with him; his revenue is one million two hundred thousand florins, *i. e.* one hundred and twenty thousand pounds *per annum*. The margrave's country extends along the right side of the Rhine, from Basil to near Philipsburg, and from thence through part of Alfatia to the Moselle. If it all lay together, it would be more productive.

They carry on a large trade in cattle, wood, and wine, which last is extremely good in the environs of Basil. The country, likewise, produces a kind of marble, which some think equal in goodness to the Florentine or Carara; but this is exaggeration. The mildness of the government secures to the people the quiet enjoyment of the rewards of their industry. There are not indeed opportunities of making great fortunes, as the court is very œconomical, and lives at a small expence; but the same cause prevents the pressure of extreme poverty from being felt by any one. The facility of exporting their labours, which is afforded by the navigation on the Rhine, is a great incitement to industry. The manufactures in consequence increase every year, and

and some of them, particularly the earthen-ware one at Durloch, are in high estimation. They have likewise made some successful experiments in making silk.

The margrave is as amiable in private life as he is respectable in public. He and the margravine, who is a princess of D'Armstadt, have every polite accomplishment, so that the court is the best society in Carlsruhe. Strangers find little difficulty to gain admission there.

This court has been much reflected upon for its œconomy, and possibly may have gone rather beyond the line in some points; but whatever the excesses may have been, the Prince himself is not chargeable with them. The fact is, that the debts of the family were numerous and great. Those in the hereditary dominions have arisen from frequent wars, and the necessary provision for the younger part of the family; but besides these, when the margrave succeeded to the government of Baden, which fell to him by the extension of another branch of the family, he found every thing in the utmost confusion. Priests, mistresses, huntsmen, and cooks, had long vied with each other for the honour of accelerating the bankruptcy of the court of Radstadt *; and in the last administration

* Radstadt is worth passing through by strangers who have occasion to go from Mannheim to Strasburg, were it only to see
the

tion every thing had been purposely left to go to ruin, on the principle that the successor was a protestant. Under these circumstances the prince's mother thought the greatest œconomy necessary, and she carried it so far as to cause the flowers which grew in the court garden to be sold, instead of permitting her daughters to wear them in their bosoms. For this, though without the strictest œconomy the family must have been ruined, she was much laughed at; perhaps in some degree deservedly; but the mirth was kept up by some *beaux esprits* in the neighbourhood, whose mercenary expectations the court had failed to gratify.

Carlsruhe is a neat little town, consisting entirely of wooden buildings. It is built on a regular plan, and stands in the middle of a large forest, the remnant of that which, in the time of Tacitus, covered all Germany. Through this forest there are thirty-two regular avenues extending to a great distance. The town, built in the shape of a fan, stands upon nine of these; but you will have a better notion of it from the plans, which are sold upon the spot, and are very well worth purchasing, than from any thing I can say.

the little closet in which Eugene and Villars signed the Treaty of Utrecht, and some rather uncommon monuments, which stand in the middle of the street.

I cannot omit an anecdote which happened about forty years ago, and does the prince of that time great honour. A traveller who passed through expressed his surprise at seeing a palace entirely of wood. 'True, Sir,' said the prince, 'you may think it ought at least to have been of brick; but I could not be more magnificently lodged without laying expensive taxes on my subjects, and I wanted only a roof to lay my head under.' Certainly the difference between a king of France and a margrave of Baden is very great; and yet it would not have been amiss if the builders of the Louvre, Versailles, and Marli, had attended a little more to such considerations.

L E T T E R III.

Stuttgart, April 14, 1780.

FROM Carlruhe I returned here on foot, through a romantic, but in general very well cultivated country.

When you come into Lorraine from Champagne, you are struck with a remarkable difference between the circumstances of the farmers in old France, and those of the newly acquired coun-

country, notwithstanding that the governors have of late years done every thing that they could to make them alike; but in Alface the contrast is still greater. The farmer of Alface is quite a gentleman when compared with the old Frenchman. You will hear indeed heavy complaints of high taxes even at Strasburg; but it is only from such as have no opportunity of estimating the advantage of their situation by comparison.

In the part of Germany I have hitherto travelled through, the inhabitants are still happier than in Alfatia. The form of government protects them from oppressions in the larger states, such as Wirtemberg, &c. and the emperor himself frequently interposes in the smaller ones. In my way from Carlsruhe hither, I could not sufficiently admire the thriving state of the people.

Before I give you any account of my excursion into the neighbouring parts of Suabia, I must make you acquainted with the present state of this court. No doubt, from what you have formerly heard, you will expect accounts of sumptuous feasts, balls, illuminations, hunting parties, concerts, and the like, but with any thing of that kind I shall not be able to entertain you. They no longer make artificial lakes on the tops of hills, and compel the peasant to fill them with water, for the purpose of hunting a stag there; they no longer light up immense
forests,

forests, and bring out fauns and dryads to dance midnight dances in them ; you meet with no more winter gardens abounding in all the flowers of an European spring : even the famous Opera-house, where Noverre exhibited when his fame was at the highest, is now a solitary ruin. This change astonishes you. I cannot explain it better than by giving you the duke's own words.

In 1778 this worthy Prince took the opportunity of his birth-day to publish a manifesto, of which the following is the substance ‘ Being a man, and from the condition of my nature, far removed from the standard of perfection, and likely to remain so, it could not but fall out that, partly from the weakness incidental to human nature, and partly from the want of sufficient sagacity, and other causes, many events should have taken place, which had they not happened, things would have been very different from what they now are, or are likely to be hereafter. This I acknowledge freely, as it is the duty of every upright thinking mind to do, and the consideration of it reminds me of duties obligatory to every man, but still more so to the anointed of the Lord upon earth. I consider this day, in which I have entered into my fiftieth year, as beginning the second period of my existence.—I assure my loving subjects, that every successive

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‘ year of life, which it shall please divine Pro-
 ‘ vidence to bestow, shall be dedicated to the
 ‘ promotion of their happiness.—Henceforwards
 ‘ shall the prosperity of Wirtemberg be esta-
 ‘ blished on the joint and firm basis of the so-
 ‘ vereign’s love for his people, and of the peo-
 ‘ ple’s confidence in the affection of their so-
 ‘ vereign.—A subject, who thinks as he ought
 ‘ to do, will see that many circumstances must
 ‘ arise, in which the good of the individual
 ‘ must give way to the good of the whole, nor
 ‘ murmur if things do not always take the turn
 ‘ which he would have wished them to do.—We
 ‘ trust that every man will, for the future, live in
 ‘ the confidence that he has a provident and an-
 ‘ xious father in his prince: yes, may the con-
 ‘ test who shall do most to make his native coun-
 ‘ try happy, be from this day forth the only con-
 ‘ test that ever arises between us.’

The duke is now quite a philosopher; he founds schools, farms, cultivates arts and sciences, and establishes manufactures: in short, he endeavours in every way possible to make up for what has been wrong.

Many causes had contributed to mislead this prince in the earlier parts of life, and to give his mind, naturally a lively and impetuous one, a false direction. Amongst the foremost, we may reckon the fashion of the times, the bad exam-
 ples

ples set him by the Courts of Manheim and Dresden, the taste for false magnificence which he had acquired in Italy, and the corruption of those who surrounded him; many of whom, I am ashamed to say it, were French. These were the causes of that dissipation of which Europe has heard so much. The consequences were such as might naturally have been foreseen; debt, oppressive taxes, resistance on the part of the states of the country, and finally, a commission of inquiry issued by the imperial court.—The debts, upon examination, were found to amount to 1,200,000*l*. The evil counsellors, you may think were removed; but this would have done little, but for the change which about this time took place in most of the lesser courts of the empire, the princes of which, from being oppressive and expensive tyrants, suddenly contracted a taste for political œconomy and philosophical pursuits. Into these the duke ran with as much ardour as he had formerly done into juvenile dissipation.

I should now give you an account of the several new establishments for education, and particularly of the military academy; but I believe that you are already acquainted with them, and as to myself, I must confess ingenuously, that they do not please me. I suppose that as things are now circumstanced, it is necessary to pour a great

deal of knowledge into boys before the mind is fit to receive it ; still I own that I cannot bear to see the intention of nature so perverted. My children, if I am blessed with any, shall grow up to these years like young Cossacks.—But I shall take another opportunity to give you my sentiments on education—at present something more concerning Wirtemberg.

The greatest part of the dukedom consists in an extensive valley, which is bounded on the east by a chain of hills called the Alps ; on the west by the Black Forest ; on the north by a part of the mountain of Oden-Wald, and an arm of the Black Forest ; and on the south by the joint arms of the Alps, and the Black Forest *. On the whole, it inclines to the northward, and is watered in the middle by the Necker. Several smaller arms run off from the surrounding chains of hills towards the centre, cross each other in various directions, and form little vallies, which are watered by an infinity of rivers. The land is rendered exceedingly fruitful by these lesser hills, which shelter the vallies from the cold winds, and collect the heat of the sun between them. The southern sides of these mountains and hills are planted with vines very high up,

* The Black Forest is the largest wood of Germany, being sixty days journey in length, and nine in breadth.

and above there is excellent dyers wood, and brush wood; and at the bottom is a grey-coloured light mould, which yields all kinds of corn, but particularly barley, in astonishing plenty.— Upon the whole, this country very much resembles the middle part of Lorrain; but the soil is much better, and there are not so many stones in it. Excepting salt, which it is obliged to have recourse to Bavaria for, it abounds in all the necessaries of life. What corn is not consumed in the country is sent to Switzerland, and the wine goes as far as England.

The whole extent of the country does not contain more than two hundred German, or two hundred and sixty-six French square miles.— In this circuit there are about five hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants; that is, about two thousand eight hundred to every German square mile. Excepting those parts of Germany which are in the neighbourhood of some capital cities, and some districts of Italy, and the Netherlands, there is certainly no country in Europe so populous, in proportion to its extent, as this is. It is, however, so fruitful as to be able to support as many more inhabitants.

The income of the duke amounts to three millions of florins *, or about 300,000*l.* *per*

* A German florin is two shillings of English money.

annum. I know that many printed calculations make the sum smaller. But as there are few parts of Germany in which the taxes are not estimated at five florins per head, and in some they pay much more, why should it not be so in Wirttemberg, which is one of the largest territories in Germany, and in which the subject is not more spared?

After the electors, the duke is beyond comparison the greatest prince in Germany, though the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who has not above two thirds of the subjects or yearly income, is of more consequence in the empire, on account of his connection with England.

The government of this dukedom is not so simple and unmixed, as that of the territory of Baden. Here are swarms of counsellors, secretaries, proctors, and advocates, of which more than half might be spared; but the nature of the government allows them to enjoy their appointments in idleness. Many of them, it is true, belong to the states, whose duty it is to limit the authority of the Prince; but notwithstanding the many reductions in the household itself, it is still much too large for the Duke's circumstances.

The duke's army consisted formerly of fourteen thousand men; and if his debts were paid, and the other expences moderated, such an establishment

tablishment might always be supported, as the population and revenues of the country appear to allow it. At the time of the change, however, they were reduced to about five thousand men, and those seem to be none of the best troops.

Stuttgart contains about twenty thousand inhabitants, and since the duke is returned, the population has been constantly on the increase.— During the contest, in which Stuttgart took a very violent part, he removed to Louisburg. Stuttgart was instantly sensible of her loss by it; she made every possible effort to obtain his return, but all in vain: but after a reconciliation between the prince and the states, the wish of the Stuttgards was at last accomplished.

The city is well built; the inhabitants are a handsome, stout people. The women are tall, and slender, with fair and ruddy complexions.— The natural riches, the ease with which a maintenance is to be procured, either at court, or in the country, cause them to live exceedingly well.—What would provide for twelve of our people, seems here to be only the portion of six.—The Stuttgarter is so attached to his home, that if you remove him but thirty miles from it, he is immediately seized with the *maladie du pais*.

Though

Though the country throughout is Protestant, and the duke alone a Catholic, there still prevails a great deal of superstition and bigotry. The clergy are members of the states, have a jurisdiction of their own, and are very wealthy.

The affection of the Wirtembergers towards their prince is remarkable. Even when the duke seemed to have no other care than how he should load them with new taxes, he did not forfeit their attachment. The curses of the people fell on his servants, and the crew of projectors who led him astray. But since these have been banished, he is become the idol of his subjects; and he deserves to be so.—Farewell.

L E T T E R I V.

Stuttgart, May 20, 1780.

MY excursions, in the neighbouring states of the circle of Suabia, did not produce the rich booty I had promised to myself. I visited a dozen free imperial towns, in which, notwithstanding the republican form of government, not a spark of liberty or patriotism was to be seen. The inhabitants of these have, through the oppression

pression of more powerful neighbours, long since lost all sense of the value of independence; but though ashamed to mention the name of their native country out of their own walls, within them they mimick the forms of old Rome, and after the manner of those governors of the world, inscribe their public buildings of the state with *Senatus Populusque Hallensis, Bopfingensis, Nordlingensis, &c.*

In the fifteenth century, the imperial cities of Suabia acted a very different part. They were then united in leagues, not only with each other, but with the cities of Franconia, and the Rhine. Even the emperor had sometimes cause to be alarmed at their increasing power, which, indeed, made Charles V. disunite them. From the time of the association of the Hanse towns, the gold had flowed from all the country into the cities. These were the exclusive seats of industry, and their wealth drew into their dependance the neighbouring princes, who, at that time, lived by robberies. If the spirit of trade, which then prevailed, had suffered them to place more value on the possession of landed property, they would to this day have preserved somewhat of their former splendour, as with their power they might have made many conquests, and with their wealth many purchases.

All hopes are now vanished of their ever becoming again conspicuous. As soon as the princes discovered the value of industry, and gave it free encouragement in their dominions, it fled into their protection, and abandoned the dark walls of cities in which a system of monopolies, little policy, and narrow-minded envy of the successful, laid it under so many restraints. In consequence the towns are so reduced, as to be obliged to sell the little landed property they have, to discharge their debts. This has lately been the case with Ulm; the largest town in Suabia, next to Augsburg. Of the imperial towns which I have visited, I can say nothing particular, but that Heilbron is beautifully situated, and Halle has a salt manufactory, which brings in three hundred thousand florins, or thirty thousand pounds *per annum*.

Having left these states, I ran over, in a very short time, about a dozen principalities, and prelacies, with the name of which I shall not trouble you. Almost the whole country consists of well-wooded mountains and hills, and fertile vales, all in high cultivation. The great population which prevails here is wonderful, when you consider the untoward circumstances of the country. By untoward circumstances, I mean the extortions of petty masters, who all keep their mistresses, their stag-hounds, their French cooks,

cooks, and English horses ; the perpetual quarrels amongst neighbours, which arise from the various perplexed governments of the empire ; the small profits attendant on industry within such a confined spot ; and lastly, the constant decrease of coin, owing to the sums of money expended by the governors of the country in search of foreign luxuries. As religion, manners, attachment to the native spot, temperance, and frugality, all of which I am willing to allow that these people possess, do not appear to me sufficient of themselves to counterbalance these evils, I have but one way of accounting for the prosperity I see ; which is this :

The right of holding property of their own, which the country people of these parts enjoy, could not of itself prevent these states, which exist entirely by agriculture, from decay ; because the extraordinary fruitfulness of the women, would, in time, require such a partition of property, as would not leave enough to each farmer to buy beds for his children. I believe, therefore, that it is the emigrations, joined with this, that are to solve the phænomenon I am endeavouring to explain. Though Suabia is the most populous country in all Germany, there is no one the inhabitants of which migrate in such large quantities.

These

These emigrants are of two kinds. The major part are an idle set, who sell their property to furnish themselves with money to travel into foreign countries, in search of imaginary projects of fortune. The others are young men, who go out to try their fortune as mechanics, and when they succeed, part with their land to their other brothers for a small consideration. By these causes no greater load is thrown upon agriculture than it is able to bear ; and it is well that there is not ; for the sole resources of such small districts, as those we are speaking of, are in their agriculture. For the limits of their luxury are too narrow to admit of that variety of employments, and ways of gain, which diversify the callings of men so infinitely in other countries ; nor is it possible that manufactures should thrive among them, whilst they are circumstanced as they are ; that is, surrounded by powerful princes, who lay great duties on their imports, in order to protect their own establishments, and situated in a country which supplies them with few, if any, of the prime materials for work. They must therefore depend intirely on their agriculture, and they do so. I do not however mean to say, that, cultivated as it is, this country is not susceptible of a much greater degree of improvement. It certainly is ; and much more might be done.

Still,

Still, what has been done is surprizing; nor is the cause less worthy of admiration. For it is owing to a steady administration of justice, and a set of political regulations which are to be with in the smallest parts of the country, and which raised my wonder as often as I had occasion to consider them. We not only hear nothing here of the oppressions of private individuals, but there are instances in which causes have been given against the petty lords of the country in their own courts. Indeed they have need to be careful; for no man, who is not strong enough to bring a force in the field against the emperor, to whom there is always an appeal, would be suffered to go on long with impunity. It is but a few years since, that redress was obtained against a petty prince of Suabia, who was going to drive his subjects out of their possessions, in order to make way for his stags and wild boars. But it must be owned, that such extreme remedies as these are seldom necessary. There is an integrity still adherent to the German character, and a kind of jovial humour about them, which makes the princes of the country start from the acts of wanton oppression and cruelty, which, with the same powers, would, no doubt, be exercised in Spain, Italy, and even in France. Give a German prince but room and food for his dogs
and

and horses (for about the welfare of these he is uncommonly solicitous) and you have little to fear from him in other respects;—that is, as an individual, for in the gross they will clip you as close as they can.

There is, however, one object in which there is great need of reformation, and that is the administration of criminal justice. The torture is not yet abolished in these countries, and they still behead, hang, break upon the wheel, and impale *secundum præcepta legis Carolinæ*.—It is not very long since they burned a woman for being a witch; but that I believe is over.—The civil law, too, is not yet reduced to that perfect state which might be desirable. Not that I am for getting rid of all forms, with your modern philosophers, and leaving every thing to the wisdom of the judge, under the pretence that forms consume too much time and money. That they consume time and money I am ready to allow; but these are well employed when slow investigation brings security in the final decision, and the necessity of abiding by forms prevents cupidity from practising on avarice. Give me a Socrates for a judge, and I will be content to abide by his decisions; but whilst judges are what they are, whilst philosophy comes out of the mouth and expires on
the

the lips, it is better to trust to a mode of process, which leaves little room for the bad passions to play. I own, that some of the Gothic forms, still practised in most of the German tribunals, might be abolished without doing mischief. But there are many in which the Gordian knot has been cut instead of being loosened—Fare thee well.

L E T T E R V.

Augsburg.

I Have made you wait thus long for a letter, as a punishment for your intolerable laziness; but as you appear penitent in the short epistle I received yesterday, and Nannette intercedes for you in the postscript, I shall resume the correspondence.

At Stuttgart I met with a friend with whom I made an excursion very far into the Black Forest.—The inhabitants of those parts of it which belong to the dutchy of Wirtemberg are not near so handsome, well-made, or lively, as those who live near the Necker, and in the adjoining vallies. The men are clumsy, and the women yellow,

low, ill-shaped, and wrinkled at the age of thirty. They distinguish themselves from their neighbours, by a more frightful taste in drefs, and a shocking want of cleanliness. Kalb is the best town in these parts. It has considerable manufactures, and the inhabitants distinguished themselves in the contests with the duke, by an uncommon degree of spirit, love of liberty, and attachment to the constitution.

I am not able to account satisfactorily to myself for the ugliness of this people. Hard labour, and little food, may contribute to it, but cannot be the only reason; for in the country of Furstemberg, and particularly in the Austrian parts of this great chain of hills, we saw very handsome people, who did not seem to live better than the Wirtembergers do. Possibly the ugliness of the latter may be owing to the situation, and depth of the vallies, to the air, and perhaps to the water.

These journies over the mountains had particular charms for me. I fancied myself in a new world. One enchanting prospect exceeded another in variety and beauty. Mountains, and chains of mountains of the most extraordinary forms, cataracts, woods, small lakes in the deep hollows, precipices; in short, every thing I saw was in so grand a style, that I am not vain enough to attempt to describe it in a letter.

After

After resting some days with my friend at Stuttgart, I set out for the lake of Constance, where my wishes had long gone before me. In my way thither, I came over another chain of hills called the Alps, which run through the middle of Suabia from north-east to south-west. This chain stretches from the frontiers of Suabia, between Bavaria and Franconia, as far as Fichtelberg, and joins with the mountains of Bohemia.

The object most worthy notice in this journey, was the family seat of the king of Prussia. Who would believe that the great Frederick, who withstood the united strength of the greatest powers of Europe, and preserved the balance in the north, was the descendant of a younger branch of the house of Hohenzollern, the smallest principality of Germany, the two surviving branches of which, Hechingen and Siegmaring, have not together seventy thousand florins, or seven thousand pounds, income? The younger brother of one of our marquisses, being informed of this by a Prussian, gave a snap with his fingers, and said, *Voila un Cadet qui a fait fortune.*

We travelled directly through the principedom of Hohenzollern, the breadth of which is little more than ten miles. It may be about fifty miles in length, but including the detached part

of Siegmaringen, does not contain more than twelve thousand people. The country is exceedingly full of hills and woods, and the princes have always been great hunters. Those who now sway the sceptre are amiable men, who, you may suppose, do not forget that the king of Prussia is their relation. If I mistake not, a count of Hohenzollern was not long since made coadjutor to the chapter of Ermeland by the king.

We viewed the castle of Hechingen, which stands on a high mountain, and commands an extensive prospect over the dutchy of Wirtemberg, and the neighbouring country. I have heard that one of the ancient governors of this small territory, could not forbear saying, as he was walking with his attendants on the castle terrace, and surveying with delight the wild and beautiful country round him, ‘The *little country* of Wirtemberg would be a pretty addition to the territory of Hohenzollern.’ If this anecdote should not be true, it is not ill invented, the *little country* of Wirtemberg, being at least thirty times as large as the whole territory of Hohenzollern.

I was transported at the sight of the lake of Constance: but shall not attempt any poetical description of it, as I should use a very rough crayon

crayon indeed, to pourtray a scene of infinite variety and beauty. I shall therefore only give you my philofophical and political reflections on the country and its inhabitants. Indeed you well know, that where my feelings are the most interested, I am least happy in expressing them.

What at first sight is most striking in this great piece of water, which divides Germany from Switzerland, through so great a length of country, is, that there should be no town of any importance about it. Constance, which is the most respectable, hardly contains six thousand inhabitants, whilst Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Zurich, and some places which are not far distant, though less advantageously situated, are very flourishing cities. It has no trade to signify, nor the smallest manufacture of any kind. This is more extraordinary, because throughout the country, the Bavarian peasant seems not only more alive and alert than the Swiss, but has an advantage over him in morals and industry.

In Constance one is strongly induced to consider this want of industry, the neglect of the advantages which nature holds out, and the vices which prevail, as intirely owing to the religion. In Alface, and among the lower Suabians, I had already found more spirit of trade in the protestants than in the catholics, whom numerous holi-

days, pilgrimages, holy fraternities, the immoderately inculcated doctrine of the contempt of worldly things, the expectation of some wonderful support from God, the ease of finding a provision in cloisters, and lastly, very narrow and contracted minds, all contribute to corrupt. These disadvantages, however, as far as concerns the peasants of the countries we are speaking off, are compensated by the heaviness and savageness of the reformed Swiss; specimens of which, I shall, at a future time, lay before you; but in the towns, the greater number of churches and cloisters, added to the above causes on the one side, and the greater degree of knowledge on the other, create a difference which is very striking, and is infinitely increased by a number of other causes besides religion.

It is evident, I think, from the example of France, the Austrian Netherlands, and various Italian states, that the Roman catholic religion does not of itself stifle industry, of which there may exist a great deal with a strong tinge of superstition, just as the knight of La Mancha, when taken out of his quixotism, shewed himself both a gentleman and a philosopher. In this country, likewise, religion is not so much the principal, as the necessary cause; and it is owing to local circum-

circumstances, that the German catholic is not so industrious as the French or Genoese.

The chief of these is certainly the mode of education. You would be astonished to see the difference of education in the German protestant, and the German catholic towns, as well as between the French and German catholic. All I need say on the subject is, that the *Jesuits*, to whom we owe so much on this head, and whom all our patriots so much wish for back again, are in Germany the protectors of every thing barbarous and savage. They strive as ardently to suppress every emanation of genius here, as those of their order endeavoured to kindle it amongst us.

But another obstacle to industry in this country, is the stupid, ridiculous pride of the nobles. Whilst the Swiss merchant and manufacturer bears a part in the government of his country, the Canon of Constance looks with contempt on the citizen who is indebted for his riches, not to a doubtful genealogy, but to his understanding and industry. This makes a deep impression on the citizen; who, instead of increasing his capital by his industry, purchases a title, endeavours to put on the noble, and then, with a pride still more contemptible, insults his fellows.

In the next place, the frugal way of living of the Swifs very much contributes to the increase of their manufactures. The daily repast of an inhabitant of the middle station of life in Constance, would make a sumptuous feast for one of St. Gallen. True it is, that as every ill has its attendant good, their conviviality may be the cause why the Suabians are evidently so much better tempered than the Swifs.—Add to all this, that Constance is in a manner neglected, on account of its distance from the Court of Vienna. The Swifs, it is said, made overtures to establish manufactures there, but they failed. I am ignorant whether the failure was owing to the intolerance of the court, to the jealousy of the senate of Constance, which is constantly solicitous to preserve something of its former importance as a free imperial town, or to the above mentioned pride of the nobles.

The bishop resides at Moersburg, a small town on the opposite border of the lake. He has an income of about seventy thousand florins, or 7000*l.* *per annum.* He has very considerable possessions in Switzerland. The other places worth notice, on the German side, are Uberlingen and Lindau.

The Swifs side of this small lake is more pleasant to view than the German. The beautiful

tiful mixture of the neighbouring hills planted with vines, the straggling appearance of the farm-houses with orchards round them, the small and varied patches of all the different kinds of agriculture, make it more agreeable to the eye than the Suabian villages, the houses of which stand together as in towns, and are often encompassed by a great corn field, or a wide meadow. Upon the whole, I believe that both sides of the lake are equally well inhabited. The Swiss soil is more stony and heavy than the German, and though the Thurgau is one of the best parts of Switzerland, it is indebted to Suabia for a part of the prime necessary of life, to wit, corn, which it repays in wine and fruits.

They little think in Holland, how much they owe to the lake of Constance. As matters even now are, they can hardly guard against the sand, which being washed down from the Alps by the Aar, and other rivers, into the Rhine, threatens to stop up the mouth of the latter, and already leaves room to apprehend some violent revolution. by the great sand banks it has raised. But if the great reservoir we speak of did not intercept by far the largest quantity of the sand, which the rapid stream of the Rhine washes from the high Bunterland, Holland must have been already buried under a new sand, and the
course

course of the Rhine being altered by it, must have totally changed the figure of the country. It is true, that these changes must necessarily happen. However, considerable the depth of this lake may be, it must at last be filled up, and the sooner, because the stream, as it flows from Constance through the upper parts of Germany, is always deepening its bed, and the lake loses exactly so much water as it gains in sand. On the other hand, if we reflect how much so great a basin as this lake may contain; if we calculate its contents as De la Torre did those of Vesuvius, we shall think that the Dutch are secure for many generations.

It was impossible for me to leave this country without visiting the famous Fall of the Rhine at Lauffen, where I beheld the finest spectacle I had ever seen. As no painting or print of this magnificent scene of nature had ever come in my way, and I knew it only from general report, that which probably happens to all who do not carry with them some distinct idea of it happened to me. My imagination had deceived me. I had fancied to myself one of the wildest spots of the world, and the Rhine falling from a great height into an unfathomable gulf. The contrast between the reality and my idea, made the surprize more agreeable. Indeed the circumstance took place
here,

here, which generally attends all great works of nature and art, the true greatness and beauty of which do not strike at first sight, but are felt on closer observation and comparison of their parts. I found the fall not near so high, but far more beautiful than I had expected. The amphitheatre of hills covered with trees; the two rocks, (on one of which is placed the castle of Lauffen; on the other, a village, with a mill before it,) which like the two front pillars of a theatre, stand on each side of the fall; the breadth of the fall; the beautiful division of its different descending waters; the rich basin underneath; the agreeable, and almost artificial mixture of wild cultivated country; in short, every thing was more delightful than my expectation had formed it.

The height from which the water falls, is near fifty feet, including the little inclination it makes preparatory to its precipitation, which can only be seen from the rising ground above it. It was formerly considerably higher, and many persons still living remember a piece of the rock in the middle of the precipice, which has been worn away by the water. I think I could observe, from the rock on which the castle of Lauffen stands, that the stream was gradually deepening its course. It follows therefore, as I said before, that the lake of Constance must diminish in proportion as the Rhine deepens its bed. In
my

my journey hither, I saw evident marks of new land near Lindau. The lake of Constance has this in common with all lakes, which lie high. This diminution must be the most remarkable in the lake of Neufchatel.

I made an agreeable little tour to the island of Meinau, a commandery of the Teutonic order at a small distance from Constance. The commander's house is a handsome new building, and commands an excellent prospect over all the lake of Constance. Mr. Coxe seems not to have understood the plan of the castle gardens. He considers it as a want of taste to have obstructed the free view of the lake, by plantations of shrubs; but these lead a stranger imperceptibly to the desired spot, where he is surprised with the prospect, and sees the whole lake, and all the splendid landscape around, in full beauty. An uninterrupted view of the water from the garden would not be very pleasing, as it may be constantly enjoyed from the window of the palace.

Before I leave Constance, I must recall to your memory, a man, who, for some years past, has made some noise in the public papers. It was on this stage that the celebrated Gesner began his career, who in a short time expelled so many millions of devils, and cured so many hundred bigots. An order of the Bishop of Constance having prohibited such miracles in his diocese,

forced

forced him to take refuge under the protection of the prelate of Salmanweiler, who, by the strength of hard gold, always purchases of the pope an exemption from the bishop's power. In opposition to the Bishop, the prelate espoused the part of the refugee with much warmth; and his fortune was made by the persecution he underwent. The prelate's steward supplied him with some barrels of stinking oil, and other commodities, which he used for the purpose of his cures, and in the furnishing of which the other found his account.

L E T T E R VI.

Augsburg.

AFTER having gone all round the lake of Constance, I directed my journey from Lindau hither, and passed through some decayed imperial cities, which had been under the necessity of requesting from the Emperor an exemption from furnishing their proportion of tax for the public exigencies of the empire, and were now actually dwindled into villages. Memmingen, however,

is an exception. It has some manufactures in it, and still resembles a town. I met, by accident, with an extract from the chronicle of this little town, which runs in the same old womanish style, with all other chronicles of small towns. I will transcribe some passages from it, as they paint the character of the people.

‘ In the year 1448, the taverns of the town
 ‘ were exhausted of wine ; the senate sent a for-
 ‘ mal deputation to the Necker, to procure this
 ‘ indispensable necessary for its subjects. As the
 ‘ waggon with the wine was approaching, the
 ‘ body of the citizens went in procession to meet
 ‘ it, with drums beating, and colours flying, and
 ‘ there was a public bonfire ordered.—’

‘ In the year 1449, there happened, on St.
 ‘ Galen’s day, in the church of St. Martin, some
 ‘ dispute among the women concerning the pews,
 ‘ which at last bred a fray amongst them, in the
 ‘ church itself. The clergy imagined it neces-
 ‘ sary to new consecrate the church, which had
 ‘ been thus prophaned ; but the senate opposed
 ‘ it with all their power, as it had only been a
 ‘ fray of women.’

Both these characteristics of the people still prevail. The Suabian has still the same veneration for wine, and the same mastery over his wife.

From

From hence I came through numberless earldoms, and lordships, the most considerable of which are the possessions of the counts Truchesse and Fugger; these might be considered as principalities, were they not divided among so many branches of the families.

The whole tract of country, from the lake of Constance here, is not near so well cultivated as lower Suabia. The manners of the people also are much inferior. There is a striking difference in the persons of the men. The inhabitants of these parts are ugly, and their features are so distorted, that the sight disgusts one. Nature too has done still less for them, than for their neighbours. The whole of their country is a plain, which is intersected only by one ridge of woody hills, between Lindau and Leutkirchen. The soil is only fit for tillage; whereas, in Lower Suabia, the mixture of mountains, hills, and valleys, allows of every kind of agriculture.

The efficient cause of the ruin of this country, is, its being parcelled out into so many small baronies; many of the owners of which live at the great courts, and draw the money out of the country. It is needless for a traveller to ask, if the master of these possessions resides upon his property; as one can easily discover in the looks of the people, and the forsaken aspect of the country, that he does not. Whilst the baron is
making

making a figure at court, his vassals are exposed to the oppressions of a rapacious steward, who generally contrives, in the space of a few years, to amass so much wealth as to enable him to resign his office, and commence baron himself.

If a life of extravagance, and a ridiculous passion for titles, was not so universal amongst them; if they had more love for the arts and sciences; if they had a taste for more elegant pleasures than horses, equipages, and servants can afford; if they could bring over from France something more becoming than a stiff carriage, an affected walk, a taste for gaming, and a wretched jargon, the German nobles might be the happiest class of human beings. Almost entirely independent, as the nature of the constitution makes them, they might become, in the fullest sense, the creators of the happiness of their subjects, and in return receive their adoration. But they appear not to have sufficient sensibility to follow such a line of conduct. Nature takes her revenge, and the consequence of their idle extravagance at the courts is, that their estates run gradually in debt, and their resources vanish.

Augsburg is one of the oldest towns in Germany, and one of the most remarkable of them, as it is there, and at Nuremberg, that you meet with the oldest marks of German art, and industry. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the

the commerce of this town was the most extensive of any part of south Germany, and contributed much to the civilization of the country, by the works of art, and a variety of necessaries to the comfort and convenience of life, which it was the means of introducing. Many things originated in this town, which have had a great influence on the happiness of mankind. Not to mention the many important diets of the empire held here; here, in 952, did a council confirm the order for the celibacy of priests; here, in 1530, was the confession of faith of the protestants laid before the emperor, and other estates of Germany, and here, in 1555, was signed the famous treaty of peace, by which religious liberty was secured to Germany.

Many of the houses are old and ugly, and are built with so little attention to the rules of modern taste, that Winckelman renounced living in Germany after he had seen them; but this is what the English call peevishness; and to be so much taken up with the beauty and form, as to be blind to every other consideration, is folly and vice. The houses in Augsburg must not be considered as Roman and Greek temples, but as monuments of the architecture of the times in which they were built. Whoever considers them in that light, and compares them with the houses built at Lubeck and Nuremberg in the same century,

ture, will see to what a much greater degree of magnificence Augsburg had arrived in those early times. He will see too a great deal of real beauty of proportion, uniformity, correspondence of parts, &c. &c.

The looks of the inhabitants of Augsburg have something very striking in them. They are a compound of the Suabian and Bavarian features. The protestants are most like the Suabians, and the Catholics the Bavarians. It is an observation, which has been frequently made, and undoubtedly a true one, that you may distinguish a protestant of Augsburg, from a catholic, by his looks and manner. Any person who goes into their respective churches, will see striking characteristical differences in the face. As the catholics are more catholic at Augsburg than in any other part of the world, and as the followers of the several religions seldom intermarry, this difference may the more easily be accounted for.

The best accounts of the successive variations of the government of Augsburg, which is aristocratical, is to be met with in *D. Langemantel's Historie des Regiments der Stadt Augsburg*, Fol. and in *P. von Stelten des altern Geschichte von Augsburg*, 2 vol. in 4to, which carry it down to the year 1649.

The police of the place is very good, and though the town has no territory, it has no debts.

The

The water works of Augsburg deserve notice much more than those of Marly, the mechanism of them is much more simple, and the advantage of them much more conspicuous.

Augsburg is, however, no longer what it was. It no longer has a Fugger, and a Welfer in it, to lend the Emperor millions. In this large and handsome town, formerly one of the largest trading towns in Germany, there are no merchants at present to be found, who have capitals of more than 20,000*l.* The others, most of whom must have their coaches, go creeping on with capitals of 3, or 4,000*l.* and do the business of brokers, and commissioners. Some houses however, carry on a little banking trade, and the way through Tyrol, and Graubundten, occasions some little exchange between this place and Germany.

After these brokers and doers of business by commission, the engravers, statuaries, and painters, are the most reputable of the labouring part of the city. Their productions, like the toys of Nuremberg, go every where. There are always some people of genius amongst them; but the small demand for their art affords them so little encouragement, that to prevent starving, they are mostly confined to the small religious works, which are done elsewhere by Capuchin monks. They furnish all Germany with little pictures for prayer books, and to hang in the citizens

houfes. Indeed the arts meet with little fupport in this country. The man of fafhion had much rather keep horfes and hounds, and a ufelefs train of fervants, by whom he is cheated, than provide for an ingenious artift, and even when, in obedience to fafhion, he is compelled to make fome facrifice to genius, he refts no confidence in the abilities of his countryman. As he is feldom poffeffed of tafte and difcernment himfelf; he is directed in his choice, by the reputation of fome foreign artift, and leaves merit in his own country to ftarve. In other provinces of Germany, matters appear to be no better ordered; Mengs, Winckelman, Gluck, Haffe, Handel, and many others, were obliged to acquire reputation abroad, before their merits were acknowledged at home.

There is an academy of arts intituted here, under the protection of the magiftrates. It feems, however, like its patrons, to have no other aim than to produce good mechanics, and pre-ferve the manufactures of the city. The fenate, for fome time paff, has been deliberating on fimilar projects, for the encouragement of induftry. As I take part in any improvement for fo- cial happinefs, I was extremely mortified to fee thefe intentions thwarted, by the very governors of the town themfelves.

The grounds of this inconsistent opposition, arise in a great measure from the form of government. The patricians, who, with a very small addition of the mercantile part, govern the town aristocratically, cannot bear to see the plebeian enabled by his industry to carry his head above them. Though they extol industry in the senate, they hate and persecute it in the workshop. One Shulin, who has made his fortune by a great cotton-work, is a lamentable example of this duplicity. As the millions his industry has brought, allow him to live more splendidly than the patricians with empty titles, he is become the object of their most furious persecution.*

This despicable policy takes its origin in the general corruption of the country. Nine-tenths of the inhabitants are the most infamous rascals imaginable, fellows, who, on the least signal, are ready to cut one another's throats on account of religion; who spend their week's wages every Sunday in ale-houses, and never reflect on the greatness of their predecessors, but when the liquor is fermenting in their brain. I have told

* Mr. Nicolai is of a different opinion, he says that the Burghers take great part in the government, and that this is one of the free imperial cities in which there is most liberty, infinitely more than at Nuremberg or Ulm.

you already, that the government is partly Catholic, and partly Protestant. Upon the whole, the Catholics may, I believe, be more numerous than the Protestants. It is quite impossible to give any idea of all the ridiculous incidents occasioned by the religious disputes. Every day produces some unexpected occurrence, which makes one both laugh and complain. They never brush a cobweb from a public building, without mingling religion in the business. The Catholics, who are more zealous than the Protestants, support a controversial preacher here, as they do in all the towns, where the religion is of the mixed kind. This man, at certain times, sets one half of Augsburg a laughing, the other a raving. He who fills this part at present, is an ex-jesuit; who is one of the best comedians of the kind I have seen. The excessive poverty and indolence of the people, make them regardless of their own rights. The aristocracy would not be so powerful if the people had more understanding, and attachment to their constitution.— But liberty is no dearer to them than the chastity of their daughters, whom their canons, whose incomes are about 200*l.* per annum, purchase every year by dozens.

The other tenth of the inhabitants consists of some patrician families, amongst whom there are some very polite people, of the merchants, artists

artists and clergy. But there is too much idle extravagance amongst even the most prudent, and too many jealousies about them all for true patriotism to take root amongst them. This town, which is nine miles and a half in circumference, contains hardly 30,000 people,* and their collective capital scarcely exceeds 1,500,000*l.* so that their yearly decrease becomes more and more apparent. If some fortunate circumstances do not arise, another century will see them reduced to beggary.

The more modern part of this town is truly beautiful; and the senate house is one of the handsomest buildings that I have seen in all my travels. One would believe, that in proportion as the internal resources had diminished, the magistracy had become more attentive to external decoration. But it is as with the false bloom on a courtesan's cheek, it may beguile the passing stranger, but whoever sees her at her toilet will soon be undeceived. A short time since, on the publication of an order for the water spouts, which used to spout the water upon the streets, and injure the pavement, to be in future carried through their houses, a company of merchants entered a protest, beginning

* Mr. Nicolai makes them 34 or 35,000, and says there are 28,000 houses.

with these words: 'The Romans were not arrived at the pinnacle of their greatness when the Appian way was made.' I know not whether the writer of the remonstrance was in jest; but, as the common proverb says, that 'every comparison is lame,' this is so indeed.

The city has its drinking water from the river Lech, which runs at some distance from it.—The aqueducts which convey the water, are much to be admired. As the court of Bavaria has it in its power to cut off this indispensable necessary, by threatening the town with doing so, it often lays it under contribution. But as it has, besides this, other means of keeping the high council in a state of dependence, to secure itself from this oppression, the city seeks the Emperor's protection, upon whom it makes itself as dependant on the other side, so as to be indeed only a ball, which both courts play with.—The Emperor's minister to the circle of Suabia, generally resides here, and by so doing secures to his court a perpetual influence. There are always Austrian and Prussian recruiting parties quartered here, and the partiality of the government to the former is very remarkable. In the war of 1756, the citizens were divided into equal parties for the two courts. The Catholics considered the Emperor as their god; and the protestants did the same by the king of Prussia.

The

The flame of religion had almost kindled a bloody civil war amongst them.

The bishop takes his name from this town ; but resides at Dillingen. He has an income of about 20,000*l. per annum*. As a proof of the catholicism of this place, the Pope, throughout his whole progress, met no where with such honours as he did here. This he owed to his friends the jesuits, who have still great influence.

L E T T E R VII.

Augsburg.

OF all the circles of the empire, Suabia is the most divided, it contains four ecclesiastic, and thirteen lay principalities, nineteen independent prelacies and abbeys, twenty-six earldoms and lordships, and thirty-one free cities. The prime directors of the circle, as they are termed, are the bishop of Constance, and the duke of Wirttemberg, which last has the sole direction of all that relates to war.

The mixture of the various forms of government, and religious sects ; the oppression exercised by the great on the lesser ; the game constantly

stantly played by the Emperor, who possesses many pieces of detached country in Suabia, which depend not on the circle, and can, in consequence of his privileges as archduke of Austria, extend his possessions in it by various ways, are circumstances which give the cultivation of the country, and the character of the inhabitants, a most extraordinary cast. In several of the post towns where you stop, you see the highest degree of cultivation in the midst of the most savage wildness, a great degree of knowledge and polish of manners, mixed with the grossest ignorance, and superstition; traces of liberty, under the deepest oppression; national pride, together with the contempt and neglect of the native country; in short, all the social qualities in striking contrast, and opposition to each other.

Those parts of Suabia, which belong to the greater potentates, such as Wirtemberg, Austria and Baden, are certainly the most improved.—The whole of Suabia may comprehend about nine hundred German square miles, and two millions of people. More than half of these are subjects of the three above mentioned houses, though they do not own, by a great deal, one half the land.

If the small German lords would restrain themselves within due bounds, if they would

not

not appear greater than they really are, if they were more affectionate to their subjects, if they were not insensible to the softer feelings of humanity, and so hostile to the muses and graces, the very smallness of these states might constitute their happiness. For although a small country must necessarily part with some money to procure what it wants from abroad, yet if the governor does not require many luxuries, a prudent œconomy and management will keep this within due bounds. Besides, as most of the sovereigns in this part of the world are Catholics, and the rich foundations in the neighbourhood lie open to their younger sons, they are not incumbered with the care of making other provision for them. Many of themselves too belong to the church, and their preferments there might prevent their laying any burthens on their subjects. But the happiness of their people, is never the study of these gentlemen, who, from the want of family ties, consider themselves as unconnected with the country, and think their only business is to act like generals in an enemy's land, and plunder what they can. —Were it not for this, their exemption from supporting any military establishments, the ease with which a small country may be governed; the distance from the political distractions of the greater states, the security that the other powers

of

of Germany cannot play the great conqueror over them, and many other circumstances, might be improved into blessings on these small societies.

The courts of Stutgard and Carlruhe are the only ones I have met with, which seemed to have any sense of the duty of making the subject happy. The rest appear vain enough to conceive their people created for them, not themselves for their people. The treasurers of these petty lords, with some of whom I was well acquainted, make a very essential difference between the interests of the court, and those of the people; and though the subject is under no apprehension, as I have said, of gross tyranny; yet he is by no means safe from having his pocket picked by the nicer operations of finance.

The education of most of these lords is so thoroughly neglected, as hardly to admit of better hopes. It is almost universally in the hands of Priests.—Part of these are monks, whose knowledge is in a manner all wrapped up in their cowls, and part are young *abbes*, who are just come from school, and only seek to make their fortunes by the connections of their pupils. The monk teaches that a reverence to Saint Francis, Benedict, or Ignatius, a regular attendance on mass, the telling beads, and giving

ing alms to monasteries, are objects, which will make amends for many transgressions of another kind.

L E T T E R VIII.

Munich.

THE road from Augsburg to Munich, lies through Dachau, which is two miles from Augsburg and Nymphenburg. Great part of the country, which you see on this road, is intirely uncultivated. There was a project to bring the Memnonites from the Palatinate to cultivate it, but it failed, because the court confessor exclaimed against any introduction of different religions. The buildings at Nymphenburg are magnificent, and deserve to be viewed.

The castle of Nymphenburg was begun in 1663, by the Electress Adelaide, consort of the Elector Ferdinand Maria; but much has been added to it by the succeeding electors. Many things are worth looking at in the palace, and the gardens are the largest in Germany; but
what

what is most remarkable, are the rooms which contain the pictures of the sixteen mistresses of the Elector of Maximilian Emanuel, and the Emperor Charles the Seventh. The public exhibition of these portraits is an offence to the public manners, which has not, perhaps, its like in Europe.

In the gardens there is a cloyster of nuns of Notre Dame, and under the same roof, parted only by a wall, an Hospice of capuchin friars. This custom of building convents and cloysters near each other, was very common in the tenth century.

There is a china manufacture here, but it seems fallen to decay.

On my arrival at the inn, a pretty hostess stepped up, looked me very suspiciously in the face, and put several questions; which, for want of sufficient skill in her provincial dialect, I could answer but by halves. As I cannot endure to be much questioned by innkeepers, I desired her, somewhat roughly, to let me know, without any more ceremony, whether I could lodge and board in her house for some days? With a great deal of difficulty, she at last gave me to understand, that she had taken me for a Jew, and had sworn to some faint or other, never to entertain a Jew, I was, as you may suppose, near leaving
ing

ing the house; an explanation, however, took place, and the next day, after my beard, which was rather of the longest, had been taken off, we were fully reconciled, and have agreed very well ever since.

In my way hither, I stole sufficient time to remark that the agriculture of this part of the country is not in so improved a state as even that of Suabia. I saw several Suabian villages, which deserved the appellation of towns much more than some of the miserable holes I have met with since my arrival in Bavaria. There are six of these about Munich, in which the wide scattered houses are far more numerous than the inhabitants.

I am still too little acquainted with this court and country, to be able to say any thing confidently about either. But as I propose stopping here some time, shall impart to you, in due order, the result of my enquiries. In the mean time, as I am a diligent frequenter of the German theatre, I feel a desire to entertain you, as far as my ability yet goes, with a state of the dramatic part of German literature.

Those who understand German, perceive even at Strasburg, that Germany has, for some years past, been struck with a rage for theatrical exhibitions. The booksellers shops are from
time

time to time over-run with new plays, and theatrical almanacks; and writings of the dramatic kind, always occupy a third part in the catalogues of new books. Dramatic poetry is certainly the highest species of poetry, as historical painting is the highest species of painting; nor can any thing be more useful than to represent man in his various characters, and situations, with truth and justice. But such men as appear at present in most of the German plays, are rarely met with in the world; and when here and there such do make their appearance, the police of the place, if there is any police, takes the charge of them upon itself, and lodges them in Bedlam, or a workhouse.

You must know, my dear brother, that the characters most frequent on the German stage, are frantic lovers, parricides, highwaymen, ministers, mistresses, and men of fashion, with their pockets full of daggers and poison, melancholy and raving men of all sorts, and incendiaries, and grave-diggers. Perhaps you will not believe me, but I could name to you above twenty pieces, the chief characters in which are mad, and where the poet has endeavoured to exhibit his *forte* in the display of folly, and distraction of mind. I assure you too, upon my honour, that part of the German public with which I have had the honour

honour to be acquainted hitherto, admire, and most violently applaud those scenes which shew the madman in his wildest transports. There are plays in which the chief character successively murders from twelve to fifteen people; and by way of crowning the meritorious deed, plants a dagger in his own breast. It is a fact, that the pieces which have most madmen and murderers in them, meet with the greatest approbation; nay several actors and actresses have complained to me how difficult they found it to invent new ways of dying on the stage. It must be difficult, for there are scenes in which the principal performers must remain for half an hour in the last agonies, uttering broken words, and under continued convulsions, and it is certainly no easy task to sustain such a death with propriety. I have often seen no less than five people at once dying on the German stage, one ringing out his knell with his feet, another with his arms, a third with his belly, and a fourth with his head, whilst the pit seemed agonizing with joy, especially if the sport lasted, and clapped every convulsive movement.

The next in rank on the German stage after the madmen and murderers, are drunkards, soldiers and watchmen. These characters correspond too much with the national humour not to be welcome to the audience. But why the phleg-

phlegmatic Germans, who are troubled with few violent passions, and delight so little in desperate transactions, and tragical events, should take such pleasure in the dagger and bowl, is not at first so easily accounted for. Let us see what is to be said for the audience and the poets.

On the part of the public it may arise from ignorance of life and manners. The different classes of people do not mingle so much in the German towns as they do in France. To every thing which belongs to nobility, or which has the name of nobility, or is in any way attached to the court, the German in middle life can have no access. His knowledge of life and taste for social pleasures is much more confined, than that of our people, nor does he, like the inhabitants of a moderately large French town, enter into the innumerable incidents and accidents of common life. This want of interest in usual virtues and vices; this insensibility to the little events of ordinary life, oblige the German to look for strong emotions and caricatures to entertain him on the stage; whereas the Frenchman is contented with a piece of a much finer wrought plot, and willingly sees the people he lives and is acquainted with, represented on the stage. The Saxon dramas are not so monstrous and extravagant as those which are exhibited in the western.

western and fouthern parts of Germany, becaufe a more enlightened morality, and a freer inter-courfe than there is here, obtains in that part of the country, and confequently, the picture of a fcene in common life is more ftriking than it can be here. In general, the majority in this part of the country, confifts more of *mob* than in France, and the mob, you know, are notorious for running to fee an execution or a funeral.

On the part of the poets, the extravagance arifes from a variety of different caufes. Moft of the prefent writers for the German drama are as ignorant as the mob of the fprings which actuate mankind. Many of them are ftudents, who are ftill at fchool, or juft come from it, and have chofen play writing for their trade. Thefe perfons, who have never feen any thing, fit in their chimney corner, and enveloped in the fumes of their tobacco, invent whatever happens to come uppermoft. Their creatures have, confequently, neither beauty, fhape, grace, or proportion; but are either men without heads, or barbarians. The writers of this clafs, who aim at nothing but getting their bread by gratifying the public, write tragedy, becaufe it is moft eafy, for, independently of the affiftance which may be derived from the marvellous, it is always eafier to write a good tragedy than an equally good comedy.

Another set of writers for the buskin, suffer themselves to be led away by the taste of the times. A few years ago one Goethe, of whose works you must certainly have seen translations, brought out a piece, which, although it has very great beauties in it, is, upon the whole, the most extravagant that ever was acted. To give you an idea of it, I need not say more than the subject is, the peasant war under the Emperor Maximilian, and that the burning of villages, firing towns, &c. &c. are represented in it to the life. This piece, which is called Gots of Berlichingen, *with the iron hand*; has, notwithstanding the great outcry for it, not yet been exhibited on the stage, because the infinite changes of the scenery, and the incredible heap of machinery, and decoration necessary, are too expensive, and would make the performance too long. Goethe is, undoubtedly, a genius, and I have seen other pieces of his, which shew that he can draw men in common life, and walking on their legs, as well as those who stand on their heads. His Elvin and Elmire is an exquisite little opera, and there is much merit, though with some excrescences, in his Clavigo, a tragedy on the subject, you know, of Beaumarchais' adventures, in Spain. Goethe, however, has had too many imitators. His Gots of Berlichingen was a kind of magic wand, which,
with

with a single stroke, produced a hundred geni-
 uses out of nothing. Blind to the real beauties
 of the original, his imitators have endeavoured
 to distinguish themselves, by copying his extra-
 vagancies. As in Gots of Berlichingen, the
 scenery is frequently changed, it is now neces-
 sary for the poet to carry the spectator through
 every part of the town. Goethe was rather la-
 vish of executions in his pieces, and now there
 are innumerable hangmen on the stage. Shake-
 speare, whom Goethe, probably from whim, or
 with the view to draw the attention of his coun-
 trymen to that great poet, proposed as his ex-
 ample in his Gots, became instantly the idol of
 the German dramatic writers; but not that
 Shakespear, who, like Raphael, paints man as
 he is, under every circumstance, and expresses
 every movement of the muscles and nerves, and
 every emotion of the passions; but he, who, for
 want of sufficient acquaintance with originals,
 and due education, gives himself up to his own
 wild whims, flies over ages and countries, and
 worlds, and in the pursuit of his fluctuating ob-
 ject, does not trouble himself about either unity
 or order. An historical painter may fail in what
 is called *la composition du groupe*, or harmony of
 the piece, and several other things, and yet
 merit great praise for his excellence in the deli-

neation of single figures; but the scholar who copies these faults, is truly to be pitied.

Rules, it is true, do not fetter a genius; he either wears them like wreaths of flowers, unconstrained, easily and gracefully; or, when he does not know the value of this ornament, and will come forth in his own wildness, makes up for the omission, by the vigour with which he lays hold of his object. But such untractable geniuses are very scarce, and not the proper objects of imitation. England, or rather we may say all Europe, has produced but one Shakspeare during many centuries. The greatest number of artists are doomed to acquire reputation by study, and rules have been made to regulate that study.

This ridiculous taste of desiring to excel by the neglect of order and rules, by the affectation of extravagance, unnatural events, abominable grimaces, and pitiful disfigurations, has since this time infected every department of literature and the arts. We see crowds of young pretenders to genius, who, in their different walks, in music, painting, and other parts of poetry, think to acquire fame by departing from the established rules, and giving up study. But the ancients thought otherwise on this subject, and the works which they have left behind, will never be
eclipsed

eclipsed by these weak and pretended originals. Virgil, it is well known, compared his productions to the unformed cub of a bear, which could only receive its proper shape by frequent licking; and it is easy to see, by the writings of Terence and Plautus, that they were not finished over a pipe of tobacco. You know that Shakspeare has now, for some time past, had his partizans amongst us; but his extravagance will not so easily be adopted for a rule; and though Arnaud has opened the way for monsters on our stage, as yet they appear too seldom for there to be any danger of our seeing our old friends and acquaintance in common life banished by them.

This corrupt taste has produced a wonderful revolution in the German language. When we read the writings of Gesner, Wieland, and Lessing, we perceive that it was improving under their culture, and would gradually have received the polish and perfection which are indispensably necessary to make it classical. But these new geniuses have not been satisfied with the mutilation of single words, but have contracted whole periods in the same manner. They have abolished all conjunctions and connectives of every kind. In many of the more modern works, the sentences are all separate, like the separate *ef-fata* of an oracle; nor are any stops or divisions admitted

admitted, except full stops, and ! ! ! and ? ? ? and — — —. Besides every writer made a point of inventing new words to express his new ideas; in short, you would burst with laughter if you were to read some literary productions of Germany, which pass with many for master-pieces.

When I say this, I do not mean to be understood to affirm, that there are no persons of better taste in Germany than those I have been describing; but they are over-talked, because they are the smallest number, and attempt only to convince by moderation and reason, whilst the others stun them with noise. It was but yesterday that I saw a new piece, entitled 'Quick before any one knows it,' which was remarkable for the simplicity of the fable, the truth of the characters, and the chasteness of its dialogue; and I have seen other comedies and tragedies equally good; but the pit must have madness, and murder, and trumpets, and thunder, and the actors only interpose such a piece, in order to have time to recover their breath, and recruit for fresh raptures of insanity.

This is the sixth company of comedians I have seen in Germany. You will wonder perhaps at so many in so small a tract; but you must know that for several years past, innumerable small
strolling

strolling companies patrol Germany as they do in Spain and England: they erect their stages in the barns, or in the cow-houses of villages, or market towns, and borrow the mayor's night gown and slippers, to play Julius Cæsar in his toga, or, which is the same thing to them, to represent a sultan. I saw four of these companies in Suabia. They are made up chiefly of vagabond students, and idle, dissolute mechanics, who are alternately actors and soldiers, sometimes in the work-house, and sometimes in the hospital. The company which is here at present is of a superior kind. All the members of it are in the pay of the court, which receives the entrance money. They are almost all elegant, well-bred people, and went far beyond my expectations in their performance. I do not know above three or four theatres in France which are preferable to this. The actors enjoy the society of the first people of the court, and have opportunities of polishing their manners. How ridiculous it is, that the present etiquette of Germany should refuse this advantage to the poet, who has as much to gain by it as the comedian.

This company is under the direction of Mr. Marchand, of whom I had heard a great deal at Strasburg, where he played for several years before

fore he had any regular engagement. He is now at Manheim, where he is engaged at a large salary as manager of the court theatre. I was extremely happy in a personal acquaintance with him. He is a man of the world, very lively and intelligent, and has contrived to make a capital of 4000*l.* by his performances in the cities on the Upper Rhine. This gentleman told me how much pains he had taken, when he came to the management, to set his company on a different footing from most of the German companies of comedians at that time. He employed only regular bred men, paid them with great punctuality, and as regularly discharged them, when they were guilty of any irregularity. By these means, he and his company obtained the respect of the public, who at first considered players as disreputable persons. For a long time Mr. Marchand guided the public taste. He exhibited only translations of the most select French and English pieces, and the very best originals of his own country, with a mixture of some of our operas, which, excepting at Paris, were no better performed than by his company.— Suddenly, however, the rage for tragedy and monsters prevailed; after long struggling against it, he was at last obliged to yield to the stream. As the lungs of his actors were only accustomed

to the ordinary tones of speech, and could not go through the strong convulsive movements of the new school, he was obliged, on his arrival at Munich, to procure a new set accustomed to howlings, lying dead, &c. &c. It is probable, however, that the present rage is only a temporary paroxysm of the stage fever, which will in time give way to better taste and sounder judgment. Farewell.

L E T T E R IX.

Munich.

YOU require too much of me; though I very well conceive that you must naturally wish to have a particular knowledge of this court and country, for, independently of our former connection with Bavaria, the Palatinate is the most powerful state in Germany, next to Austria and Brandenburg, or at least from its internal resources should be so; and besides, the geographical situation of the country will always make its master of consequence to whatever side he joins, in case of a rupture between France and the emperor. I will therefore do what I can; but I shall stay here too short a time to give you
entire

entire satisfaction. The description of Munich by Professor Westenrieden, though not void of faults, is one of the few works of this kind calculated to give satisfaction. Every traveller should have it. The best history of Munich is that by Mr. Bergman, in one volume folio. There is also an Italian tract on the subject, by Bianconi; but it does not contain much.

This court is at present so enveloped in a thick and motley-coloured crowd of ministers, counsellors, intendants, and commanders, that one cannot well get at, nor even see it; nor have I yet been able to make any particular acquaintance with our minister here, who undoubtedly knows how things are. I shall therefore describe the court to you, partly from the information of some of its dependants, and partly from a few of my own observations, which have hitherto been made from a distance.—As far as the court is connected with the country, its character is to be judged of by the laws and regulations issued from time to time.

The elector is one of the best tempered men in the world. He is of a mild, social, lively disposition, not at all distrustful or suspicious, and so little inclined to severity, that, upon a reformation having become necessary in his court at Munich, he appointed the count Goldstein, his prime minister at Dusseldorf, to carry on
the

the requisite measures with vigour, and went himself to Italy, that the reform might not be retarded by the prayers and solicitations of those discharged from office, which he was diffident of being able to withstand. A disagreeable marriage, contracted in his youth, led him into irregularities. The children he has had in consequence, he has raised, at a very heavy expence, to be counts of the empire. In his more advanced life, the gentleness of his spirit, and the recollection of his former errors, have opened the way for piety into his heart; which of itself would be a blessing to the country, were it not, that it gives the priesthood more influence than it should have.

As to his learning, he is reported able in several sciences, particularly in mathematics, and speaks French, Italian, and English. But the fine arts are his *forte*, and he has sacrificed liberally to them. His orchestra and opera are the best in Europe, next to those of Naples and Turin; and his magnificent collection of prints, antiques, and other things, are perpetual monuments of his friendship for the muses.

I have heard that an English gentleman at Manheim paid him the compliment to say, that 'He deserved to be a private gentleman.' Certainly this is the most favourable thing which

can be said of this prince, who is entirely destitute of that strength of character and resolution, which are indispensably necessary to govern so ferocious a people as the Bavarians. As he is wanting in knowledge of mankind, he thinks favourably of all those who are about him, and this subjects him to constant deception.

When I take my eyes off this great personage himself, to look round for the person of next consequence, and who has the greatest influence, I feel myself in the dark, and know not whom to stumble on. There is a lord high steward, a lord treasurer, a chancellor, a parcel of privy counsellors, a father confessor, and some women, who have divided the court interest amongst them, and mutually guaranteed each other's share. He who could see things as they are, and would trace every intrigue back to its origin, would find the first movers of the machine in a monk's cowl or a petticoat.

Of the mischiefs which may be done by priests and women, when they gain the ascendancy we have had sufficient examples in our own court. But these fell far short of the evils which are occasioned by them here, notwithstanding that the spoils of whole provinces have been expended on the capricious desires of a mistress; a case which happened in France. The reason
of

of this difference is, that we are not without firm patriots, who oppose administrations, and often reform what others have corrupted. But it is lost labour to look for a patriot at this court; or if you find one, his patriotism confines itself to silent unavailing murmurs.

Of the general maxims, or leading principles of the people of this court, I can say but little to you. Immediate self-interest is apparently the pursuit of every one; or if they do profess any principles, they are certainly the most pliant and versatile in the world. Indeed if we may judge by the way of thinking of inferiors, of the sentiments of their superiors, many of the principal people of this court have adopted the most execrable theory in politics: for instance, that religion serves only for the purpose of keeping the crowd of mankind slaves to them;—that a courtier must put on the externals of religion, but leave the practice to the vulgar;—that men are by nature wicked, seditious, turbulent, and only to be governed by being kept in perpetual servitude, and not permitted to use their faculties;—finally, that too much knowledge is dangerous, and that the great hold their rights over the people immediately from God, are no ways accountable for their conduct, nor under any obligation to their subjects. Wretched and miserable sentiments! originally propagated by those
 who

who do not understand Machiavel's Prince, or who do not consider what he has advanced on the other side of the question in his discourses on Livy.

You will see by this sketch, that this court is not at all more advanced than those of Spain and Portugal. The prince, though sincerely inclined, can do nothing for the real welfare of his people; for the channels by which he should communicate with them are stopt up. Under the last government the minister sold offices publicly, and now they are given away at the gaming table. There are numerous examples of people who have not been able to procure promotion, otherwise than by losing certain sums of money to certain ladies. Every thing here is venal. A few years ago, a certain minister of this court would have sold half Bavaria to the house of Austria, if the Prussian and Russian courts, and the minister of the court of Deux-Ponts, had not prevented the purchase. In every project proposed, a small part only is intended for any good purpose; the greater part has the interest of the projector in view.

How indeed is it possible that a court, in which the highest places are to be obtained by high birth merely, or family connections, by money, or the interest of women and priests, should have those fundamental rules, or have that political

constitution, which is necessary for the people's happiness? The prince's love of shew, is as remarkable as his goodness of heart; and both together induce him to think, that he is obliged to support an idle and useless nobility. Hence whilst other governments are using every effort to cut off and reduce the exorbitant privileges of this class of men, and to rate them only according to their real services, this court considers it as its duty to pamper and feed them, in holy idleness, like the frogs of Latona, or the geese of the capitol, at the expence of the state. Would you think that there is, at this very time, a project on foot for instituting a new province of knights of Malta in Bavaria, which will cost millions? It is not merit, but nobility only which will have any claim to this rich foundation. Whether the Christian purpose of persecuting the Saracens, or rather a particular predilection for this order has engaged the elector in it, I cannot tell; but thus far is certain, that the sums spent by the knights during their noviciate at sea, (or rather at the gaming table and revelling in the island of Malta) could be spent at home more profitably for their country. But the less advantage the state has to expect from this new institution, the more certainly it will be concluded on. The only thing that can stop it, is the consideration of where the funds for this purpose

pose are to be had. In the mean time, I could mention to you the names of a hundred place-men to be found in the Court Calendar, whose duty I defy any man on earth to find out. Be it sufficient as a specimen to tell you, that this court keeps a great admiral for two or three ships on the Rhine.

Every thing here is calculated for shew. The army consists of about thirty regiments, in which, notwithstanding the present design of completing them, there are not eighteen thousand men. One fourth part at least are officers, amongst whom there are several general field marshals. The titles and embroidered clothes of the inhabitants by no means secure a stranger from their begging from him. Yesterday I went to see the handsome Jesuit church, were, that I might not appear an idle spectator, I knelt down by some people in a pew; immediately a man, whom I had imagined from his dress to be a person of consequence, moved nearer to me, presented me with a pinch of snuff, and after some remarks on the beauty of the building, entered circumstantially into a complaint of his necessities, and requested charity of me. The same thing had already happened to me in another church, where the beggar was a very well dressed woman. The police, which is so attentive to light, and keep the town clean, is in a manner obliged

obliged to permit thieves and pick-pockets to beg at the gates of the town, as it knows not how to find them employment or bread.

This deficiency in true and fixed principles of government, this love of shew, this confusion of employment, from the too great number of useless, unpatriotic, idle dependants, occasion hourly contradictions in the internal politics. Some little time since the minister, who had perhaps read Beccaria when he was half asleep, or had heard the capital punishments and the torture were abolished in Prussia, Russia, and Austria, affected the same spirit of philosophy. However, it soon appeared to be but an affectation, for the thieves, murderers, and highwaymen, became soon so numerous, that an edict quickly appeared, which exposed, in the most glaring manner, the total incapacity of the court. This edict stated that, ‘ however mild the prince was
 ‘ in his disposition, and however firmly resolved
 ‘ he had been to imitate the example of other
 ‘ powers, by introducing humane laws, he found
 ‘ himself notwithstanding constrained to suffer
 ‘ the old punishments of hanging, breaking on
 ‘ the wheel, impaling, burning, and torturing to
 ‘ go forward as prescribed by the Caroline code.’
 Strange confession! But why has not the mildness of the penal laws in Prussia, Russia, and Austria, been attended with the same consequen-

ces which overfet the new fyftem in Bavaria & From no other reason than becaufe thefe powers have a firm, well concerted, and connected fyftem of government, which this court only copied in appearance, whilft her real conduct and administration was totally difsonant to this philofophy.

There were no pains taken to correct the people of their inclination to theft and robbery, by good education, improved morals, and encouragement to induftry. But furely the fix millions, which are to be thrown away on the new Malta bufinefs, might have been much better employed in the erection of fchools, and houfes of induftry, for the purpofe of faving and reforming fo many thoufands of men.—And are not the fumptuous opera houfes, the expenfive collections of curiofities, the palaces, gardens, and innumerable fwarms of glittering fervants, a reproach to the court? and do they not fhew that the property of the fubjects is in bad hands?

The ecclefiastics of this place are much divided at prefent. The fame parties obtain here, which, by their heat and virulence to each other, drew fo much notice in France. The ex-jefuits, with their adherents, are fupported by the elector's confeffor, who is one of their number; and at the head of the Benedictines are fome very rich prelates, who make their way into the cabinet with gold, by means of mercenary fervants,
and

and ladies of the court. Some of them, if I am not mistaken, are members of the estates of the country; but this gives them but little weight with a prince so jealous of his authority, that he has hitherto delayed taking the prescribed oaths in the assemblies of the states. However, it is believed that they will get the better of the jesuits, as gold is all powerful here. What the country will gain or lose by this I know not.—The Benedictines are like other monks, though not so opinionated and implacable as their enemies the jesuits.

The intolerance of the jesuits, who have now for a long time governed the elector, has been very prejudicial to the Palatinate. The protestants make at least one half of the inhabitants of this country, and have many treaties of peace, and public stipulations granted for their security.—In every state they make the best of citizens; as their religious doctrines are consonant to the soundest politics, and their priesthood is never at variance with the civil power. Notwithstanding this, they are exposed to every species of oppression, and the court seems to make a merit of rooting out this most valuable part of its subjects; whom, being blinded by the false arguments of the priests, it considers as weeds in the state garden. The hypocrites disguise their persecuting spirit under the appearance of political

cal zeal, and endeavour to persuade the prince, that unity of religion is as essential to every state, as unity of sovereignty. In a proclamation for the suppression of a small, but very elegant poem against intolerance, I met with these words: 'The author is desirous of introducing 'into Catholic Bavaria, a mixture of religions 'very dangerous to the state.' But let the court contemplate, or rather, I should say, would it had eyes to see how many salutary consequences this mixture of religions has had in Holland, and how great the difference is between *Catholic* Bavaria, and the country in which there are about thirty different sects.

It was the same affectation of political zeal, that made the jesuits in France use such strong efforts to get the edict of Nantes revoked. They accustomed Lewis XIV. from his childhood to consider the reformed church as the secret enemy of the crown and the state, and falsely charged on its peaceable subjects that spirit of persecution, which they themselves alone possessed. Our court has now discovered, that the jesuits were greater enemies to France than the reformed church; but at a time when we so loudly proclaim our errors, when the reformed church hopes to recover its lost freedom of religion, when a Necker in office proves to all mankind how much jesuitism is abhorred; here they
con-

continue to exclude Protestants from even the lowest offices in the state, and use every artifice to oppress them.

Nature always revenges her injured rights.— The persecuted heretics leave the Palatinate to cultivate the North American desert, and the greater part of Bavaria remains a desert.

L E T T E R X.

Munich.

A Few days ago I had a very long and agreeable conversation with one of the few enlightened patriots, who here mourn, in secret the fate of their country. We happened to speak of the emperor Charles VII. and the well known Bavarian war. I was obliged to allow that our ministers of that time had behaved very shamefully to this court, and that the war would have turned out greatly to the advantage of Bavaria, if we had dealt more honourably by it. My friend was loud in his lamentations, and repeatedly mentioned how our army had stood by and seen the Bavarian troops attacked without stirring a man to their assistance; how the subsidy money was not paid; how our minister, by dint of
great

great promises, which he never performed, prolonged the war to the ruin of Bavaria; with what violence our commanders had behaved on Bavarian ground, and so forth. All this I was forced to acknowledge; for I recollected what the Prussian minister at this court had said to ours, when the latter would have exculpated himself, by saying that his masters were fools.

‘Das sind Keine Dumm Kopfe; das sind Schurken (ce ne sont pas des fots; ce sont des Coquins.)’ With this conversation on my mind, I could make no reply direct; but I had likewise heard from some of our old officers, who had served in the war, and were intimately acquainted with the situation of this court, that its ministers were still greater fools and rogues than ours; that the emperor himself was more taken up with his rosary, his hounds, his priests, and mistresses, (by whom he left about forty children) than with the concerns of the country; that his servants were more studious to gratify his humours and passions, than to promote the good of the nation. A striking evidence of this was given by a certain count, who procured his own niece for him, and by the influence he thus gained over him, frustrated every good counsel of the true friends to the emperor. I knew also that our minister could not find a single man here sufficiently

ently

ently acquainted with public business to be employed in negotiations: that the subsidy money, which at first was regularly sent from Versailles, was expended in useless purposes: that the stipulated for number of Bavarian troops was not completed, and that half the money was pocketed by the officers and pay masters. I knew that the emperor, notwithstanding his embarrassed circumstances, could not bring himself to demand contributions from the rich cloysters, much less by crushing them, and taking possession of some neighbouring church principalities, to recruit the state of his finances, and give more security to his tottering throne.*

Upon this statement of the case, my good friend was obliged to allow, that if things did not turn out as they ought to have done, the greatest part of the blame was owing to Bavaria.

Since that time the court has been under the influence of a dæmon with a capuchin, which has perplexed its politics, robbed its treasury, and put fools and traitors at the head of its affairs. Whilst some of the lesser potentates of Germany have been able to raise themselves to a most respectable greatness, notwithstanding the almost insuperable obstacles they have had to struggle with, this old and mighty house has been forced

* In the last of which he certainly acted justly.

to behold the wide boundaries of its possessions incessantly contracting, notwithstanding the various favourable circumstances that have concurred to elevate it, if it would have listened to the dictates of sound policy. When the elector palatine was chosen king of Bohemia, who would have thought that his own cousin, the duke of Bavaria, would have been the person to distress him most, and to increase the already dangerous power of Austria, at the expence of his own family? Had it not been for this, Bohemia would have been now under the same government as Bavaria and the Palatinate, and the present elector, a great king.—At the peace of Westphalia, the members of the protestant league indemnified themselves for the heavy expences of the Swedish war, by putting themselves in possession of the neighbouring church principalities; but Bavaria, which had fought to the last drop of blood for the Pope and the house of Austria, thought itself abundantly paid with the electorate and the Upper Palatinate (which it could only obtain by failure of another branch of its own family), and let slip the best opportunity of possessing itself of the bishoprick of Saltsburg, with which it has so much wrangling at present, the bishoprick of Friesingen, which lies in its very bosom, and many other adjacent bishopricks; so constantly has it strove against
its

its own proper interests, from the impression of false religious tenets. *

These wars, which we may say it has waged against itself; that on account of the Spanish succession; and lastly, that of the emperor Charles VII. have given great wounds to this house, wounds which, however, it might have cured, had not religious prejudices and caprice rendered it blind, and insensible to its own internal situation. But now they rankle, and present an observer with the disgusting spectacle of a deeply consumptive body politic.

It was thought that the last elector had paid the greatest part of the national debts; but on the accession of the present Prince, these expectations were found very erroneous. Some indeed of the oldest incumbrances have been paid off; but on the other hand, several new loans have been made. This elector was, indeed, quite unequal to the management of his own finances, which he left entirely to the disposal of his servants, contenting himself if his expensive hunting matches could be defrayed; and the present court seems to be as little inclined to limit the enormous expence of the opera-house, for the sake of paying its debts, which may now

* Surely not false religious opinions, if these countries were only to be obtained by fraud and violence.

amount to near twenty-five millions of florins, or 250,000*l*.

As I strolled through the country, I shuddered at the sight of the ravages which war had made. There is no town of any importance in all Bavaria, except the capital. You would never imagine what pitiful holes, Landsberg; Wasserbing, Landshut, and many other places; which make a great figure on the map, are.—To all appearance neither Ingoldstadt, nor Straubingen, nor any of the greater towns, except Munich, contain above four thousand souls.—Nor are there more than forty of these towns; whereas Saxony, which is no larger than Bavaria, contains above two hundred and twenty, if the accounts in print are to be depended upon.—But indeed the want of population in these parts is very remarkable, as well as the remains of those vices which armies generally leave behind them. Excepting the brewer, baker, and innkeeper, you may seek in vain for a rich tradesman. There is not a vestige of industry either in town or country, but every body seems to consider idleness and beggary as the happiest state of man.

As what Bavaria lost at the peace of Teschner, was nearly made up by the junction of the principalities of Neuburg and Sulzbach; we may reckon with the Palatinate, it contains as
much

much ground as Suabia ; that is, about seven hundred and twenty-nine square miles. Now, in the Suabian circle, there are at least one million six hundred thousand people ; whereas Bavaria, by a late calculation, has not above one million one hundred and eighty thousand.

The southern part of this country is very mountainous, but not so unfit for agriculture as geographers commonly report it to be. In many of the vallies of these vast mountains, the soil is excellent ; and in one corner of them I found an ingenious and industrious husbandman, the only character of the kind I could meet with in the whole country, who gathered what he had sown sixteen fold. The part which extends from the capital to the Danube and the Inn, is the best arable land throughout the country, and is intersected by several well wooded hills. The Upper Palatinate, together with that part of the dukedom of Bavaria which lies beyond the Danube, consists almost intirely of mountains. These rise gradually from the Danube to Fichtelberg and the Bohemian ridge of mountains, but are fit for every kind of agriculture.

A considerable part of this, by nature so highly favoured country, has lain waste since the wars. There are many large tracts which the inhabitants call mosses, but which are not so fenny and spungy as the turf and moor grounds of Holland
and

and other countries. In many of them you may perceive traces of the old furrows, and there are proofs sufficient that they have been cultivated, and might be easily cultivated again. Another part of Bavaria is still covered with a luxuriant dark wood, and a third part lies constantly fallow without necessity. Upon the whole, it is more than probable, that hardly one half of the country is cultivated as it ought to be.

The country people, or farmers, are divided into four classes; into whole, half, and quarter farmers, and into those called *hausler*. The whole farmers plough with eight horses, and are termed *einsiedler*; that is, hermits, because their farm-houses are at a distance from any village. Many of these farm-houses command a territory of three miles in length and breadth, and the owners employ from twelve to fifteen horses in their tillage (reckoning two horses to every plough, which in some places is certainly too much, but in others also it is too little.) Of such farmers there may be about forty thousand. A half farmer ploughs with four, and a quarter farmer with two horses. The *hausler* are day labourers to the rest, and till their bits of property with cattle belonging to others.

We are not to infer the extent of every farmer's possessions from the number of his ploughs. The best fields lie fallow four, six, or
more

more years, just as the established custom may be, or the convenience or caprice of the owners may direct. As the farmers have no idea of meadow land, or of *stall food* for cattle, they excuse themselves for this slight kind of husbandry, by pleading the want of manure.—The worthy friend with whom I had so many disputes about the Bavarian war, defended the practice of his countrymen with great warmth. He contended, that the agriculture could not possibly be better than it was, because the internal consumption and the price of grain were too low, an inconvenience, says he, which is remediless; for exportation is impossible, on account of the want of navigable rivers; nor is it possible that the internal consumption should well be increased by manufactures, because the rivers of Bavaria all running to Austria, it will be impossible for us to vie with that country, let us do what we will. This surely was mere sophistical reasoning, used to disguise the inactivity and indolence of his countrymen. It would be hard indeed, if navigable rivers were indispensably necessary for the increase of manufactures. The greatest part of the Swiss manufactures are carried on the axle-tree; for what is exported by the Rhine, bears no comparison with many commodities which are exported over land to Francfort, Leipzig, &c. and to all the north, and to France and Italy.

But

But Bavaria should not yet think of any foreign commerce, as the rules of prudence require that the ministers should see what is to be saved, before they consider what is to be gained. Whatever is saved is gain, and the securest gain. How much gold does this country annually send away for cloth, stuffs, linen, flax, and rape seed, oil, tobacco, leather, and a variety of other articles, the materials for furnishing of which, it has within itself!

But both court and people appear to be stark blind to their true interest. You know that for many years past, there has been a great outcry through Germany, and very properly, for population, manufactures, and industry. It reached the ears of this court, who immediately, as was natural, began to imitate what was going forward. But without consulting nature for her advice, without inquiring what productions of art would prove of most general use, and serve the most to keep the gold in the country, it thought only of those which would make the greatest shew, and stood high in the list of luxuries. Would you think it? in this unspeakable want of many necessaries, they applied themselves to manufacture porcelain, which could only be managed by artificial means, of which the most honourable was a small lottery. They established manufactures of tapestry, rich stuffs,
and

and silks. They saved, indeed, by this manœuvre, the money exported to purchase the priests robes and ladies Gala dresses, but the citizens and peasants were obliged to wear foreign clothes.

One need only observe what goes forward here at the custom-house, to be convinced that the principles of taxation are not understood as they should be. When Austria determined to settle the custom-house duties according to the rules of prudent policy, the officers of finance here saw nothing in it but a mode of increasing the revenue; they therefore imitated the Austrian system, but did not consider that taxes on the importation of foreign wares are intended to operate as penalties, the reduction of which must be as agreeable to a wise government, as the diminution of the revenue of fines levied by courts of justice. The Austrian duties are connected with a great plan. They are intended to reduce the import of foreign wares as much as possible, by increasing internal industry, and to lessen the consumption of such foreign luxuries as are needless, by increasing the price of them. But instead of using the custom-house books as Austria does, as indications of what manufactures are to be encouraged, that the money paid for them may be kept in the country, the financiers of Bavaria consider them as so many sources
of

of positive revenue, which are rather to be increased than lessened.

I should not have troubled you so long with these particulars of the state œconomy, if I had not thought myself in some measure obliged to shew you in detail, that here they know nothing of the matter.

L E T T E R X I.

Munich.

A PICTURE of the Bavarian character and manners by Hogarth, would be extremely interesting. Great singularity of character is often to be met with in England; but what Bavaria offers exceeds any thing to be seen elsewhere. You know I am no painter; so if I endeavour to point out to you the peculiarities of Bavaria in the abstract, my descriptions will have none of that life and expression which distinguish Hogarth's groups, or Shakespeare's scenes. However I will do my endeavour.

To proceed methodically——for you cannot conceive what a method sticks to me in all I do. since I have breathed the air of Germany—I shall

shall anatomize the body of the Bavarian, before I proceed to the analysis of his mind. In general the Bavarian is stout bodied, muscular, and fleshy. There are, however, some slender people among them who may pass for handsome. They are something less rosy cheeked than the Suabians, a difference probably arising from their drinking beer instead of wine, as the others do.

The characteristic of a Bavarian is a very round head, a little peaked chin, a large belly, and a pale complexion. Many of them look like caricatures of man. They have great fat bellies, short clubbed feet, narrow shoulders, a thick round head, and short necks. They are heavy and awkward in their carriage, and their small eyes betray a great deal of roguery. The women, in general, are some of the most beautiful creatures in the world: They are indeed something gross, but their skin surpasses all the carnation ever used by painters; the purest lily white is softly tinged with purple, as if by the hand of the graces. I saw some peasant girls with such clear complexions, that they appeared quite transparent. They are well shaped, and more lively and graceful in their gestures than the men.

In the capital they dress in the French style, or at least imagine that they do so, for the men

are still too fond of gold and mixed colours. The country people dress without any taste at all. The chief ornament of the men is a long, broad waistcoat, strangely embroidered, from which their breeches hang very low and loose, probably to give free play to their bellies, which is the chief part of a Bavarian. The women disguise themselves with a sort of stays in the shape of a funnel, which cover the breast and shoulders, so as to hide the whole neck. This stiff dress is covered with silver beads, and thickly overlaid with silver chains. In many places the housewife has a bunch of keys, and a knife appendant to a girdle, which reach almost to the ground.

As to the characters and manners of the Bavarians, the inhabitants of the capital naturally differ very much from the country people. The character of the inhabitants of Munich is a riddle to me, and would remain so if I were to stay here many years. I believe, indeed, that it may be truly said, that they have no character at all. Their manners are corrupt, as must be the case with forty thousand men who depend intirely on a court, and for the most part live idle at its expence.

Amongst the great nobles you meet here, as well as elsewhere, with very well bred, and polite people; but the people, taking the word
in

in its full extent, are in an eminent degree destitute of any sense of honour, without education, without any activity for the state, attachment to the country, or generous feeling whatever. The fortunes of this place are from 1500 to three or four thousand pounds *per annum*, but the possessors know no other use of their money, than to spend it in sensual gratifications. Many good houses have been intirely ruined by play. The fashionable game at the court was formerly called *zwicken* or *pinch*; but since Hombesch, the minister of finance, has pinched their salaries so confoundedly, they call it *Hombesch*. Many of the court ladies know of no other employment than playing with their parrots, their dogs, or their cats. One of the principal ladies whom I am acquainted with, keeps a hall full of cats, and two or three maids to attend them: she converses half the day long with them, often serves them herself with coffee and sugar, and dresses them according to her fancy differently every day.

The small nobles, and servants of the court, have a pitiable passion for titles. Before the present elector came here, the place swarmed with excellencies, honourable, and right honourable. As this was not the custom at Manheim, an order was made to ascertain the different ranks of noblesse. All those whom it deprived of excellency, honourable, &c. and particularly (would

you think it?) the women, were sunk in despair, and for the first time, complaints were made of tyranny, of which none before seemed to have any conception.

The remainder of the inhabitants are immersed in the most scandalous debauch. Every night the streets re-echo with the noise of drunkards issuing from the numerous taverns where they had been revelling and dancing. Whoever is at all noble here must keep his mistress; the rest indulge in promiscuous love. In this respect things are not much better in the country.

Bavaria, indeed, well deserves the character given it by an officer of Gascony, of being the greatest brothel in the world.

The country people are extremely dirty. A few miles distant from the capital, one would hardly take the hovels of the peasants for the habitations of men. Many of them have large puddles before the doors of their houses, and are obliged to step over planks into them. The thatched roofs of the country people, in many parts of France, have a much better appearance, than the miserable huts of the Bavarian peasants; the roofs of which are covered with stones, in order that the slates may not be carried away by the wind. Mean as this looks, cheap as nails are in the country, and often as half the roofs are torn away by strong winds, yet cannot the rich farmer

mer be persuaded to nail his shingles properly together. In short, from the court to the smallest cottage, indolence is the most predominant part of the character of the Bavarian.

This great indolence is contrasted, in an extraordinary manner, with a still higher degree of bigotry.—I happened to stroll into a dark, black country beer-house, filled with clouds of tobacco, and on entering was almost stunned with the noise of the drinkers. By degrees, however, my eyes penetrated through the thick vapours, when I discovered the priest of the place in the middle of fifteen or twenty drunken fellows. His black coat was just as much bedaubed as the frocks of his flock, and like the rest of them, he had cards in his left hand, which he struck so forcibly on the dirty table, that the whole chamber trembled. At first, I was shocked at the violent abuse they gave each other, and thought they were quarrelling; but soon found that all the blackguard appellations which shocked me, were only modes of friendly salutation among them. Every one of them had now drank his six or eight pots of beer, and they desired the landlord to give each a dram of brandy, by way, they said, of locking the stomach. But now their good humour departed, and I presently saw, in all their looks and gestures, the most serious

rious preparation for a fray. This at length broke out. At first the priest took vain pains to suppress it. He swore and roared at last as much as the rest. Now one seized a pot and threw it at his adversary's head, another clenched his fist, a third pulled the legs from a stool to knock his enemy on the head. Every thing, in short, seemed to speak blood and death; when on the ringing of the bell for evening prayer, 'Ave Maria, ye ——!' cried the priest, and down dropped their arms, they pulled off their bonnets, folded their hands, and repeated their Ave Marias. It put me in mind of the adventure in Don Quixote, where peace is suddenly restored in the great fray, on account of the helmet of Mambrino, and the ass's collar, by the recollection of what passed in the Agramantine camp. As soon, however, as prayers were over, they were all seized again with their former fury, which was the more violent from the momentary interruption it had met with. Pots and glasses began to fly. I observed the curate creep under the table for security, and I withdrew into the landlord's bed chamber.

The same scenes occur in the inland towns among the citizens, officers, clergymen, and students. They all salute each other with abusive language; all vie in hard drinking; and close to every church, which are scarce less than

28,700, there is regularly a beer-house and a brothel. A student at the university of Ingoldstadt must carry a thick cudgel, and wear a neat cut hat; he must be able to drink from eight to ten quarts of beer at a sitting, and be always ready to fight, right or wrong, with the officers of the garrison that is quartered there. You may suppose that this does not tend to raise the reputation of the university, which is, indeed, but thinly visited, though the professors are able men, and do their duty, although a proclamation came out some years since, to forbid any Bavarian from studying out of the country.

No pen can describe the ridiculous mixtures of debauchery and devotion which ever day happen. The most notorious is that which took place in the church of St. Mary, Oettingen, a few years since, when a priest actually deflowered a girl whom he had long pursued, and could only make a prize of there before the altar of the Virgin.

The country people join to their indolence and devotion a certain ferocity of temper, which often gives rise to bloody scenes. When they mean to praise a church holiday, or some public festival which has lately been kept, they say,—such a one was a charming affair; there were six or eight people killed or made cripples at it. If nothing of this kind has been done, it is called
a mere

a mere nothing, a fiddle-faddle business. In the last century, and the beginning of this, the Bavarian troops maintained the first reputation among the German forces. At the battle of Hockstedt, they kept their ground and imagined themselves victors, till the elector who led them was informed that the French had given way in the other wing. Under Tilly and Mercy they likewise did wonders; but since the time of these generals, military discipline has so far relaxed among them, that they are no longer soldiers. Indeed no people can shew more abhorrence to every thing which is called discipline and order, than the Bavarians do. They might, however, still be useful as free-booters, whose robberies and all irregularities are more pardonable than those of regular troops. There are bands of robbers about, which are one thousand men strong, and would undoubtedly make good ravaging parties in time of war. There have been instances of their fighting against the military, under bold leaders, to the very last man. But the poorest peasant considers it as a hardship to be drafted into the regular troops of his prince.

The inhabitants of the capital, on the other hand, are the most weak, timid, and subservient people in the world. They have no quickness of parts at all, and you will seek in vain in the town
for

for that liberty, which sometimes indeed degenerates into coarseness of manners, but is still the most agreeable trait in the character of the country people. Under the last government, while the people of Munich were crouching under a despotic minister, and only ventured to murmur in secret, the country people discovered their discontent with a freedom which threatened dangerous consequences. At the same time, an unbounded and inexpressible love for their prince prevailed on them to pull down the inclosures of their fields at the command of the master of the hounds, in order that the game might pasture there. They spake with raptures of the amiable qualities of their lord; indeed they did not pass over his faults, but tried to excuse him for them, and loaded his servants, without reserve, with their heaviest curses, and thus gave every stranger a just idea of the court, while the inhabitants of the town, in the dedicatory addresses of books and poems, extolled the tyrants of the land to heaven. The country people judge as impartially of the present government. I should not, however, have obtained any account of the prince or his servants, if I had not got acquainted with some foreign artists belonging to the court, who were more interested in the state of them both than the natives, who are infatuated with their beer pots.

Every

Every shoe-black in Paris knows all the great people of the court, pries into their private life as well as their politics, and condemns or approves at discretion; but here you meet with many court-counsellors and secretaries, who know nothing of the great people, except their names. To conclude, the unadulterated Bavarian peasant is gruff, fat, dirty, lazy, drunken, and undisciplined; but he is brave, economical, patriotic, and such a slave to his word, that when it has once been given it is never broke. As to his hatred of regular discipline, it is partly owing to the discouragement thrown upon the military way of life by the clergy, and partly to there being no provision for disabled soldiers. Something too arises from the prince's not being military; for in the year 1778, when the imperial troops were recruiting at Straubingen, and carried about with them a picture of the emperor in his uniform, many of the natives immediately enlisted on hearing that the emperor was a soldier.

L E T T E R XII.

Munich.

YOU are extremely right in thinking that this court would be of great consequence, if it knew how to make use of its powers. It is able to measure swords with the king of Denmark, and Sweden is not much superior to it in force; for if we take from the sum total of the subjects of this northern potentate's power, the Laplanders, and the rest of its almost intirely unserviceable people, what remains will scarce exceed the population of this territory. Bavaria has 1,180,000; the Palatinate on the Rhine 220,000; and the dukedoms of Julich and Berg about 260,000 men. The total number therefore of the subjects of this court, amounts to about 1,720,000. I know that in some state papers they are reckoned at little more than 1,400,000, but certainly the subjects who live in Westphalia are not included in this calculation.

There is likewise a great difference about the income of the court. The very industrious, and in general the very accurate Mr. Busching, tells us, in the last edition of his excellent work, that

that he is informed from good authority, that the income of Bavaria amounts to eight millions of Rhenish florins, or £800,000 l. and this agrees with the calculation commonly made here. I told you, however, in my last, that very few people here are acquainted with the state of the court, and that they are induced, by a ridiculous vanity, to make more of things than they are. Some, who ought to have been in the secret, would have persuaded me, that the court had from twelve to sixteen hundred thousand pounds yearly income. I saw it was impossible to get at the truth, otherwise than by inquiring particularly at the proper offices into the state of finances; at last, after long search, I made out, with tolerable certainty, that the aggregate income from the taxes, customs, excise, forests, mines, &c. hardly amounted to five hundred thousand pounds.

In this estimate, one of the most considerable articles, the trade with the Saltzburg and Riechenhaller salt, is not included. This is reckoned by some at two millions, but it is most highly probable that it does not produce more than one. We may therefore most safely state the income of Bavaria at six millions of florins, or 600,000 l. The revenue of the Palatinate on the Rhine amounts to about 1,700,000 guilders, or 170,000 l. and that of the countries in the circle of Westphalia to about 1,500,000, or 150,000 l.

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so that on the whole, this court may have a revenue of nine millions of florins, or about 900,000*l*. You perceive by this statement, that the income from the lands on the Rhine amounts to something more than the half of the revenues of Bavaria, notwithstanding that it does not contain one half as many inhabitants as Bavaria; but this difference, as well as that which the profitable Bavarian salt occasions, is overbalanced by the better employment of the abovementioned lands, by more diligent husbandry, by greater taxes, by more lively trade, and by more profitable duties of all kinds.

If Bavaria were as well peopled and cultivated in proportion to its extent as the countries on the Rhine connected with it are, it would yield three or four millions of florins more. I have told you already, that it contains a space of seven hundred and twenty-nine square miles.—The Palatinate and the dukedoms of Julich and Berg, all together, hardly contain two hundred and forty square miles; but this space, which is not a third as large as Bavaria, has half as many inhabitants in it, and yields more than half as much revenue.

This difference arises, in a great measure, from the great attention paid to monks in this country; an attention which must necessarily prevent any increase of population, any excess of know-

knowledge, any industry, or a more improved cultivation to the country. There are two hundred cloisters in this country, and at least five thousand monks. Many of these cloisters have incomes of three or four thousand pounds a year; that of Niederalteich has not less than 10,000*l.* *per annum.* Without exaggerating, one may rate the revenue of the cloisters, and other religious foundations of this country, at about two millions of florins, or 200,000*l.* which is a third part of the whole income of the country. The damage which the monks do the country is most notorious. This appears with regard to the farmers called *hermits*, whose children they are very assiduous to make monks of, because they receive with every one of them, one, two, three, or more thousand florins. The consequence to the country is, that by this diminution of the laborious part of the community, the property remains in too few hands, and the country is never above half cultivated.—The country also loses something by the sons of the other farmers who are bred in convents; for the education given them unfits them for every profession, but those of idle authors or comedians.—The propensity to idle life, to feasting, and beggary, which reigns over all Bavaria, is countenanced and sanctioned by the example of the fat priests.—The people envy them strongly their blessed idleness.

idleness. The jugglery, the brotherhoods, church feasts, and corner devotions of these holy quacks, employ the attention of the multitude so much; that they spend the third part of their time amongst them.—Interest prompts them to keep the people in a state of stupidity, and therefore they are constantly in the field ready to oppose, with almost inconceivable fury, every thing which tends to improve and enlighten the understanding. They alone are to be thanked for the shocking wildness of manners which appears in Bavaria. Their cowls contain the essence of Christianity and all morality. They preach nothing but masses, which are very profitable to them, the rosary, the scapulaire and ridiculous mortification to the body, by which means so many a block-head has got the name of saint. The deceived countryman believes, that confession and a mass, which costs fifteen pence, will wipe away the foulest sins, and considers the telling his beads as his most essential duty. The secular priests are as few in number as the monks are many. These ought naturally to form the manners of the country; but they are held in much less veneration than the others, because their dress and appearance is not so extraordinary. In Bavaria, however, they do not deserve more respect than the monks; for the greater part of them differ from the peasants only by wearing
black,

black, having a more expensive table, and a handsomer and better dressed house-keeper. In other things they are equally lazy, untutored, and ignorant.—Their parishes are four miles in compass, and produce from four to 600*l.* *per annum*. What an advantage it would be to the country, if these livings were to be divided into five or six smaller ones, and filled with a better race of holy shepherds! At the same time, the monks should be prohibited from interposing in the care of souls, or what would be rather more advantageous, though not to be expected under this government, they should be extirpated altogether.

If the estates of the convents, which formerly belonged to the electors, and were given away in melancholy moments, were to be reassumed, and if all foreigners without exception were allowed a free exercise of their religion, the national debts would be very soon discharged, and the country immediately put on quite a different appearance. But Charles Theodore is so far from being capable of such exertions, and is so little acquainted with his own interest, and with that of his country, as to be founding a new convent in the Palatinate on the Rhine, and making a present of the wealth of the ex-jesuits (another sort of monks) to the knights of Malta. What shall we say of the private man, who is loaded with debts,
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and yet makes religious foundations? But here no reasoning will apply.

The overbearing greatness of many Bavarian farmers gave rise to some considerations in my mind, which deserve to be farther noticed. I divide the country people into three classes; 1st. Into those whose properties are too small to live by, and who must serve others to obtain their full maintenance. 2dly. Into such as can depend on means sufficient from their own property. And 3dly. Into those who possess more than is necessary for the convenient support of a family, and who are called more or less rich farmers. At first sight it appears fair enough, that the land-tax should be equal for all, and that all should pay in proportion to the ground they hold; but it is not so; on the contrary, it is a great political error to make the peasant, who has not half sufficient to maintain his family, pay as much in proportion as he who has a full competency; for first, it is a political axiom, that three or four middling citizens are more valuable to a state than one rich one, although his capital may much exceed that of the others; and secondly, though an intirely equal partition of possessions and gold in a state, were it possible, would indeed be madness; still, under the conviction it is impossible, every prudent ruler will conduct his administration as if it were not

so. The most unhappy countries are those in which the greatest riches, and greatest poverty are to be met with at the same time. Such a state cannot subsist long: one part of the inhabitants must be despots, the other slaves. In the fermentation incidental to such a country, persons really free are either thrown out or destroyed.—One over rich farmer gradually swallows up all the poor in his circuit. He lends money on the ground of the poor, seizes the occasion of a barren year to purchase cheap a little property of his neighbour, and when he is not restrained by feelings of honour, has innumerable artifices to get possession of any piece of ground which lies convenient for him. I saw with astonishment, in some republican states, how some rich farmers had found means to dispossess a whole community, and become the tyrants of the neighbourhood. In monarchies the evil is not so great; but however, it is always sufficiently so to require to be opposed with every nerve.

Let us now compare the advantages which a rich farmer can draw from his lands, with the advantage resulting to a middling or a poor one. The poor man must sell his produce as quickly as possible, and generally at a low price, because his creditors are urgent. The middling one cannot keep the price up long, because he is in
 danger

danger of being obliged to borrow money, and of losing by the interest as much as he could gain by laying by. But the rich one can speculate, and seldom bargains at the low price at which the others are obliged to sell the earnings of their sweat and toil. He buys grain from the low people round about, or he has previously advanced them the price of their crops; they must therefore let him have it at his own price, and then he raises the price of grain in the market. By inundations, or hail storms, the small farmer has often not seed enough for the ensuing year. The piece of ground in course lies waste, and when the rich man possesses it, he cultivates it with double and treble profit, and becomes, at the expence of the poor and the state, richer and richer, till at last, often to the great injury of population, a dozen small farms are swallowed up by him; the young gentleman, his son, who is mean while at study will not any longer continue in the country, but fixes himself in town, lets his lands, and adds another insignificant idler to the state.

Ought not, then, the rich farmer to contribute something more to the state, in return for those advantages which he derives from having his property so much better circumstanced than that of his neighbours?

I conceive it therefore highly just, that in the imposition of taxes, some respect should be paid to the different kind and condition of farmers. The poor one should not pay so much in proportion for a piece of ground as the middling one, nor the latter so much as the rich one. On the contrary, the state should endeavour to relieve the poor one till he became as thriving as the middling one, and to prevent the last from aggrandizing himself to the injury of population. I would also in my republic, which, like unformed chaos, is yet floating in infinity of space, fix some middle point, and in the laying of taxes, make the tax to correspond with the degree in which the income of a single farmer falls short of, or exceeds this point. For example:—In my republic a thriving farmer should be one who possessed land to the amount of six thousand florins of property. Thus every one, who had under four thousand florins of capital, should pay one per cent; he who varied between four or five to six thousand dollars, two per cent; he who possessed more, three per cent; and whoever possessed the double of so much, should pay four per cent. for all that was above the middle point. Thus in purchasing a piece of ground the poor would have a just advantage over the middling farmer, and the middling one over the rich. It is true, my officers would

would have occasion for more arithmetic, and it would be necessary to run a little more up and down;—but leave me to take care of that, when I have once got my state upon a sure ground and establishment.

To return now to our * Bavaria, you can very easily and clearly imagine to yourself how far it is from being what it might be made. If the debts were paid off, the number of subjects and quantity of income would enable the elector to keep a standing army of forty or fifty thousand men, and could, as things now are, if these parts of his possessions were as well cultivated as the country on the Rhine, increase them to sixty thousand, and command high respect from his mightiest neighbours. When his successor comes to the government, the resources will still be granted by the accession of the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, and possibly also the state of œconomy will be better.

* The many projects which the author has formed for Bavaria, gave him a right to call the one made by him *bis* Bavaria. In the year 1740 an Austrian general made frequent use of the expression, *Notre Baviere*. A French officer, who was treating with him for an exchange of prisoners, heard him a long time, and at last said, ‘*Monsieur, nous avons une chanson dont le refrain est: Quand j’ai bien bu, toute la terre est à moi.*’

L E T T E R XIII.

Saltzburg,

TH E way from Munich here is very dull. It lies through a vast plain, only here and there broken by gentle elevations. The many dark woods, the miserable and thin scattered peasantry, the want of towns, and the continual dread of robbers, make one hasten out of Bavaria as quickly as possible. For seventeen long German miles there is no place of note, but the dark Wasserburg, which stands on one of the barren sand-hills, through which the river Inn winds.

When you come to the frontiers of Saltzburg things mend. The prospects are more varied, the habitations of the peasants appear neater, and the cultivation of the country improves. About half a mile from this town there is one of the prettiest prospects I have ever met with. Conceive to yourself a vast amphitheatre; the back ground of the picture is occupied by high rocks lifting up their heads to heaven. Some of them, which are rather on the side, are in the shape of pyramids. These vast masses terminate by degrees in wooded mountains to the back, and

in beautiful and cultivated hills to the side of the prospect. Precisely in the midst of this scene stands the town, which is commanded by the castle standing on a high rock. The river Saltz gives the mixed landscapes still more life. Here and there it spreads itself out, and its banks in many places are shaded with deep hanging woods.

The country about this town forms a striking contrast with the barren, desolate wilds of Munich. It is indeed very striking, and exhibits a matchless and admirable union of nature and art. The stream divides itself into two unequal parts—To the westward, where the greatest part of the town lies, there rises on the wide plain a high, round, steep and hard rock, which has the castle as a crown on it. The river winds along by the foot of this rock, and at a small distance from it, there rises a mountain of soft stone directly perpendicular on both sides, and about one hundred feet high. Upon this natural wall, which is much higher than the highest house of the town, there grows a thick wood, in the midst of which are several plantations.—Through the part of the wall where it is only sixty feet broad, they have cut a handsome passage. On the other side of the river, there is the most romantic rock ever seen. It is a kind
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of naked wall, which stretches along the plain from the river for three miles, and is five hundred feet high, I cannot better describe the peculiarity of this situation to you, than by bidding you conceive the town as the centre of a semi-circle of hills, the two parts of the river as semi-diameters, and this wall as a radius of the circle.

The town itself is very handsome—the houses are high, and built all of stone. The roofs of the houses are in the Italian taste, and you may walk out upon them. The cathedral is the handsomest building I have seen since I left Paris.—It is built of freestone, and is an imitation of St. Peter's at Rome. The portico is of marble, and the whole is covered with copper. Before the portico there is a large quadrangular place, with arches and galleries, in which is the prince's residence, and the abbey of St. Peter. In the middle of this place there is a statue of the Virgin, in Bronze; it is fine, but of an unnatural size. There are large areas, encompassed with handsome buildings, on both sides of the church. In the middle of that which is to the left, there is the most magnificent fountain of marble I ever saw, and some valuable figures of gigantic size. There is likewise a fountain in that to the right, but it is not to be compared with

with the former one, and the Neptune of it makes but a very pitiful figure. This town contains many more excellent buildings and statues, which remind you that the borders of Italy are not far distant.

As far as I know of the inhabitants, they appear very social, open and lively, and uncommonly attached to strangers. Until I shall get better acquainted with them, I must give you an account of some excursions I made into several parts of Bavaria, in my way from Munich.

Freyfingen, an episcopal residence, though not ill built, is on the whole a miserable little place. It consists solely of monks, strumpets, a few melancholy students, and poor mechanics. The prince's castle is pleasantly situated upon the side of a mountain, from which it commands a delightful prospect over great part of Bavaria, and the mountains of Tyrol and Salzburg. The bishop's possessions lie scattered through Bavaria and Austria. His income may perhaps amount to 30,000 florins, or 3000*l.* a year, and he keeps his lord high steward, his master of the hounds, his counsellors, his body guards, his music, and his cook and butler, which two last have undoubtedly the most to do.

From Freyfingen I travelled on to Ratisbon, a dark, melancholy, and very large town, which
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you know is the seat of the diet, and contains about twenty-two thousand inhabitants. I really do not know what to say to you about it, except that the bridge over the Danube is a very heavy one, which was built by the Devil, and that I met with very good quarters at the White Lamb, the master of which is the civilest and most accommodating landlord that I have yet found in Germany.—One would imagine the number of envoys, from the different princes of the empire who are constantly resident here, would give life to the place; but you cannot think how dead every thing is. If it were not for the prince of Thurn and Taxis, the Emperor's principal commissary, and post-master general of the empire, you would not believe the town to be the seat of the diet. But this gentleman, whose income is about four hundred thousand florins, or 40,000*l.* *per annum*, gives operas, comedies, wild-beast baitings, balls, and fire-works. He is indeed a very worthy person, and does honour to his place by his greatness of mind and noble way of thinking. This gentleman may be said to do the honours of the diet in the strictest sense of the word; for the rest of the Ambassadors are forced to live very œconomically, on account of the smallness of their incomes. Many of them go about in hackney-coaches.—As every thing that is for their use comes into the city duty free,
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the people of the place make heavy complaints of their servants for carrying on a large contraband trade. Indeed they conceive that what they lose by this, is more than an equivalent for what they gain by the diet in other respects. —The fact is, that the Ambassadors from the greatest powers, who have large incomes, and seem to be paid for holding great state, hold none; and as the other ministers regulate themselves by their example, one may be several weeks in town without being sensible that the diet is assembled. Our Ambassador is one of the foreigners who is most eminently distinguished for his knowledge. Both he and the secretary to the embassy, Mr. Herissant, the son of a bookseller at Paris, are particularly well acquainted with German politics, and also with German literature.

The business of the diet is very tedious. This is owing to the prevalence of party on all great occasions, and the jealousy which the great powers entertain of each other; for the forms, according to which business is done, are in themselves very simple. The diet consists of three colleges, the electorate, that of the prince's, and that of the college of the states. The two first are called the higher colleges, though they have no essential pre-eminence over the other in the common business of the diet. All these

these colleges assemble in a hall, to receive the Emperor's propositions; thence they retire into three separate chambers, where the votes of each other are collected, in a manner well calculated for the purpose. The majority decides in each chamber as to the rules of that chamber, and so does the majority of the three colleges as to the determination of the whole. When the three colleges are unanimous, it is called a conclusion of the diet, and is laid before the Emperor, or his principal commissary, as a judgment of the diet. When one college differs from the two others, its conclusions are transmitted to the Emperor. The resolutions agreed on are immediately executed, and at the conclusion of the diet, are entered among the decrees of the empire.

The electoral college, besides the advantage it naturally derives from the small number of voters in it, whose decisions are still of as much weight as those of the other two, has a great additional influence from the circumstance of the five secular members of it having near twenty votes in the college of princes. Since the death of the last elector of Bavaria, it consists but of eight voices; the elector and archbishop of Mentz is the president. It is not yet settled who is to have the decisive voice in case of any equality; but as this is an event to be expected, it is thought that there will soon be a ninth elector
chosen

chosen from the house of Wirtemberg or Hesse-Cassel. The only obstacle is the jealousy of some of the electoral houses, lest the emperor should propose one of his own dependants.

In the college of princes there are in all one hundred votes, of which thirty-three are ecclesiastical, sixty-one secular, and six collective.—These last consist of the two benches of prelates and abbeesses, namely, the Suabian and Rhenish, and of the four colleges of the counts of the empire, namely, the Wetteravian, Suabian, Westphalian, and Franconian. Each college of counts, and each bench of prelates, has one vote. There are twenty members on the bench of Suabian prelates, and nineteen on that of the Rhenish ones. The Wetteravian college of counts has ten members; the Suabian twenty, the Franconian sixteen, and the Westphalian thirty-four. There are many counts of the empire who are not included in this number, because though they have been raised to the dignity of count, they have not yet taken their seat at the diet. Other seats are vacant, because the lands they are attached to have fallen into greater houses, the masters of which consider the privilege of voting as counts, as slender and inconsiderable. The college of princes has this privilege peculiar to it, that one house can have many votes; thus the present elector Palatine has seven votes, and his succes-

ſucceſſor, the duke of Deux-Ponts. will have eight; the king of Pruffia has five, and after the death of the preſent prince of Anſpach and Bareith, will have ſeven; the elector of Brunſwick has five. This ariſes from the rank of principality in the empire being veſted in the property, not in the perſon; ſo one perſon may poſſeſs ſeveral properties, each of which ſeparately claims his title of principality. Auſtria and Saltſburgh take it by turns to preſide over this college, the one one day, and the other the next. The archbiſhop of Beſançon, and the king of Sardinia, as duke of Savoy, have for a long time left off ſending miniſters to the diet, ſo the college of princes conſiſts now only of ninety-eight votes. The college of the ſtates conſiſts of fifty-one, and is divided into two, namely, the Suabian and Rheniſh. On the firſt there are thirty-ſeven, and on the other fourteen ſeats. The ſtate in which the diet is held has the direction.

The imperial court has a great influence in all the three colleges. The three eccleſiaſtical electors have been almoſt conſtantly creatures of the emperor, who ſpares neither gold, threats, nor promiſes, to inſpire the canons of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, in the choice of a new archbiſhop. Formerly our court uſed the ſame methods of acquiring influence in the empire; but that channel is now ſtopped up for ever, by the vigilance

lance and activity of the court of Vienna. The emperor has the same weight in the prince's college. Almost all the ecclesiastical princes are his true sons. The chapter of Luttoch is the only one, in modern times, which has dared to withstand the emperor's influence in the election of the sovereign. Besides these means of gaining influence, it has always been the maxim of the imperial court to raise the members of the hereditary dominion, who possessed the smallest fief in the empire, to the dignity of princes, in order to insure them a seat and a vote in the diet. It is thus that the houses of Lobkowitz, Dietrichstein, Schwarzenberg, Lichtenstein, Auersberg, and Thurn, have been introduced into the college, in spite of the protestations of all the old princes, merely to strengthen the influence of the house of Austria. The dukes of Aremberg are amongst the old princes; but as by far the greatest part of their possessions lie in the hereditary lands of Austria, they are almost totally dependant on the court of Vienna. Many others of the old houses, on account of the situation of their properties, also adhere to the emperor, who from one cause or other, may be supposed to be secure of half the votes to carry whatever he has a mind should be carried. In the college of towns he rules almost without controul;—for as these are almost all encompassed by most powerful

powerful princes, they require the particular protection of the court of Vienna to prevent their being totally crushed.

Powerful as the emperor's influence may be under such circumstances, still the states find means to counteract the stream, and interrupt its force. Mably has justly observed, in his remarks on the history of France, that if you consider the empire as composed of independent states, who have leagued with each other for mutual defence, one could not devise wiser regulations than they have instituted to secure their liberty from internal usurpers. The definition of the constitution of the empire, 'It is a confusion preserved by God's omnipotence,'* is a just one as long as the empire is erroneously considered as a single self-subsisting state; but if you view it, that is, as an assembly of many free states, who have knit themselves together by a certain political system, one shall discover, in place of confusion, a great deal of order; and instead of unmeaning connection, a great deal of prudence and foresight. The dam which I have mentioned to you, is that law which provides, that 'the majority in the imperial colleges should not be decisive, either in religion, or those matters in which the states

* Est confusio divinitus conservata.

‘ could not be considered as one body, or where
 ‘ the catholics were of one, and the protestants
 ‘ of another opinion.’ In these cases the colleges
 divide into parties, and however small in number
 one party may be, its decree is held equal to the
 other more numerous one. Religion alone gave
 rise to this law ; but in latter times, the genius of
 politics has made good use of it, and all the ca-
 tholics, who are necessarily dependant on the
 emperor’s court, have found it of service for a
 smaller number of protestants to be able to op-
 pose the emperor. Since the power of the king
 of Prussia has got so astonishingly high, he is at
 the head of the protestant party, although Saxony
 has the apparent government of it, and he pro-
 tests often very vehemently against things in
 which religion is not in the least concerned.

From Munich I went to Inspruck, and from
 thence into the Tyrol. I will reserve what I
 have to say on that subject till its proper place,
 which will be when I come to the Austrian terri-
 tories ; besides, this letter is already of the pro-
 per length.

L E T T E R X I V .

Saltzburg.

IT was with great pleasure that I wandered over this romantic country, and at one time standing on some immense peak I viewed under me the clouds, towered on clouds, boundless plains, innumerable lakes, rivers, and brooks, vallies of tremendous depth, and the bare summits of huge granate rocks, with the sensations which are peculiar to such heavenly regions. Sometimes I take my abode in the deep hanging brow of a mountain, in a shepherdes's hut, who dwells the whole summer through with her flocks in this subterrestrial region, and is visited only by her lover, who clammers up two or three miles of the mountains to her, some wild-goat hunter, or by chance some strayed knight like myself; there I live a day like an ancient patriarch on milk and cheese, count the flock which in the evening assembles round the hut, at the sound of a flute, and which at the moment I can think are my own, sleep upon a heap of hay far more tranquil than you upon your hypochondriac down bed, and then enjoy the beauties of
the

the rising sun, with a luxury and delight, which at operas, comedies, balls, and all the usual places of entertainment, you must look for in vain. Sometimes I visit a lake, in the bosom of a high mountain, which charms my sight still more, if at break of day, I find it mantled over with a mist. Then with greater pleasure, I survey the rising sun *drive*, and *disperse* the mist into the valley, and the gilded mountain tops emerging high above it, now the wind by degrees discovers the lake like a mirror, and the mist, like a night spectre, creeps through the interstices of the mountain into some neighbouring cliffs. Then I make a little voyage in a hollowed tree, which here must do the service of a ship, and breakfast on exquisite butter and honey, in some neighbouring peasant's house, and smile when I think of you, who are sitting at your tea table, in your learned night-gown, and critic night-cap, swallowing with your tea, some as watery stale production of the day, and from all that rot-gut stuff, get swelled, and puffed with wind, which you vainly endeavour to dispel by Rhubarb, and all the preparations of your medicine chest.

The part which is towards the town has the appearance of an immense pyramid; but it stretches backwards into a rock, which is a mile long, and takes six or seven hours to walk round.

A common traveller will reach the top in five hours; but the goat hunters, who climb like cats, do it in three. There is a prospect from it, over all Bavaria, and you may reckon nine lakes in sight. The most charming part of the prospect, is the principality of Berchtholdsgaden, which lies to the South of the mountain, and consists of a woody wall encompassed round with vast heights of the most picturesque granite. Amongst them the Watzman is distinguished by its perfectly conical appearance. The appearance of the lakes around the dark woods, have an unspeakably fine effect. The prospect into some of the neighbouring vallies of Saltzburg, is not less beautiful.

This mountain seems a proof of the truth of the system taken up by Mr. Buffon, with regard to mountains. It consists of a mass of granite, worked into the soil, in the declivities and depths of which, here and there sand and chalkstone lie as if floated in water. The lower parts of the mountain are well wooded, and it has some very good mines of red and white marble. From one of these mines, there is a fine prospect of the town; at some distance from them, in a wide gap of the mountain, there is a very remarkable water-fall. A rapid stream (which in spring, when the snow begins to melt, must be
much

much larger than it is now) breaks out from a cleft of the rock ; which you enter by means of some artificial steps. In the cleft, where one shivers with cold, you hear in the inside of the mountain, a dull rumbling, like far distant thunder. Probably the mountain has some lake in its bosom, into which the snow and rain water precipitating from above, occasion the noise. There is not a doubt but this internal body of water must in time prove destructive to the mountain. The tradition of the country is, that the emperor Charles the Great and his whole army, are confined and shut up in this mountain, until Doomsday, and will continue till then, amusing themselves with this terrible noise. On a certain day of the year, about midnight, the emperor is to be seen with his train of ministers and generals, going in procession to the cathedral of Saltzburg. Were it not that you are so well acquainted with the wonders to be met in the Sierra Morena at the mouth of the Quadiana, I could lay before you a legally attested account of wizards, whose white beards by length of time, have grown ten or twenty times about the table, on which they lie sleeping in the mountain, and of hermits a thousand years old, who have led strayed goat-hunters through subterraneous passages, and shewn them fairy palaces of gold and precious stones. From the cleft whence the
spirit

spirit of the great Charles issues to walk by night, the stream precipitates itself with a loud noise, and falls in a variety of cascades down the deep and narrow gully which it seems to have dug itself in the hard marble. Here and there it has hollowed out basins of marble by its fall, which no power of art could have given a better polish to. Indeed they are so nicely constructed, that the lovers of antiquity in the neighbourhood have actually been at the pains to prove that they are ancient baths. Quite below, at the foot of the mountain, behind a mill, the fall presents a most picturesque appearance. It is not very high at this point, but very singular, because the water is divided into innumerable threads, which cross each other in such varied and strange ways, amidst the fragments of the rock which have fallen from above, that no imagination can devise a cascade so fanciful and capricious. Here on the detached rocks are small pine-trees, which infinitely increase the beauty of the scene. The water of this stream is so cold, that you could not hold your hand in it ten seconds; and yet in the greatest sweat, and perspiration, you may drink as much as you please, without the smallest danger; as you digest it as easily as air. When I am perfectly faint, I do not know a better cordial than this water.

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That part of the principality of Saltzburg which lies to the north of the capital, is likewise very mountainous, but it produces sufficient grain for the support of its inhabitants. But about six miles from the town, there is a long narrow valley, which stretches itself first some miles southward, and then westward, is bounded by vast mountains, is watered by the river Saltza, constitutes the greatest part of the principality, but scarcely bears one third part of the necessary grain. The entrance to this valley is called the Pass of Lueg or Luhk, a word which in low Dutch and English signifies *look*, and answers to the watch tower of many *Imperial towns* and territories. This pass is a deep narrow hollow between naked, suspended, perpendicular rocks of granite, which hang over on each side, rise to an enormous height, and through which the Saltza pours with great impetuosity. Above the river they have cut a path in the rock, and there is a gate, with hardly room enough for a single carriage to pass, protected by a battery, so that a few people here could withstand a whole army. The other approaches to this valley are equally well guarded, and nature seems to have fortified it as well as Wales.

Besides this large valley, there are several lesser ones adjoining, which belong to this principality. They are of the same nature as the other,

other, and the inhabitants of them live chiefly by breeding cattle. In many places you may find very rich farmers, who own from sixty to four score head of great cattle. They export some cheefe and butter, but not near so much as they might do, if the inhabitants were as industrious, frugal, and disposed for trade as the Swifs. Besides horned cattle they also breed great numbers of horses which are very strong, and are exported to great distances for the purposes of heavy burden and draught; their shape is not handsome; their heads are too thick, and their hind quarters too high; but I remember well to have seen in some towns on the Rhine, a single Saltzburg horse drawing a weight of forty quintals, and a very heavy cart besides, from the river to the town. The farmers use them to hard labour at three years old, and this is the cause why they soon become stiff, and cannot serve for coach horses. The emperor gave twelve pounds for one for his artillery. The dominions which this prince has in Carthen, are, in point of natural advantages, much the same as these; but what he possesses in Austria is too inconsiderable to be mentioned. Upon the whole, this country draws near the half of its necessary corn from Bavaria.

The peasant of this country cannot content himself with cheefe and potatoes, as the Swifs does;

does ; but must always have his meat, which, however fat it may be, he constantly dips in hog's lard. He must have an abundance of good bread, beer and brandy. Considering the natural situation of the country, this too expensive mode of living, would make them the poorest people in Europe, if the extravagance was not counterbalanced by a prudent and admirable œconomy in other respects. The Saltzburg peasant clothes himself from head to foot: every family weaves a sort of coarse, dark grey cloth, from wool which they grow and prepare themselves. They also make their own shoes and stockings. Their dress is by these means cleanly, simple, and graceful. With all this, the equality between the income and expenditure of the country is chiefly kept up by the mines.

The salt-works at Hallein are without comparison the most considerable. The internal part of the mountain, which is about four miles distant from this place, consists of crystals of salt, mixed with a great deal of earth. In order to clean it, they dig large hollow chambers within, and fill them with water, which washes the salt, and lets the earth sink to the bottom. The water thus impregnated, is conveyed into pans and boiled off. In course of time the chambers fill of themselves again with salt, and the

trea-

treasure is inexhaustible. One of these chambers, when it is lighted up, makes one of the prettiest sights in the world. Conceive to yourself a hall about a hundred feet square, the walls and ground of which are composed of crystals of every earthly colour, and which reflect the light so wonderfully, that you would think yourself in some enchanted palace. In order to carry on this work, the woods of the forests along the Saltza and other rivers is floated down them. This may perhaps in time put a stop to it, for the small woods are already visibly thinner.

From the unfavourable situation of this country, it cannot use the whole of this treasure for itself, but is obliged to give up the most part to foreigners. All the country round is either Austrian or Bavarian. The first have salt sufficient for their own use, and all importation of foreign salt is prohibited. On the other hand, the Bavarian salt-work at Ratisbon is so productive, that it not only provides sufficient for that country, but also can afford a considerable quantity to foreigners. In consequence of all this, the archbishops of Saltzburgh have found themselves obliged to enter into an agreement with the dukes of Bavaria, in virtue of which, these take a certain quantity of salt every year, at a very moderate price, and furnish Switzerland and Suabia with it. By this means, the salt trade of Saltz-

Saltzburgh is properly in the hands of Bavaria, who gain full three times as much by it as the princes of Saltzburg. The value of the salt, which Bavaria stipulates to take yearly, amounts to about two hundred thousand florins, or 20,000*l*. What is disposed of in the country itself, or carried into Aultria clandestinely, makes on the whole about three hundred and fifty thousand florins, or 35,000*l*. of which two thirds may be clear gain.

The gold and silver mines of this principality make a great figure in the geography of Germany; but compared with the salt-works, are not worth mentioning. In the registers of the custom-house, I have seen the entry of all the gold, silver, iron, copper, and other mines or pits, on an average of the last ten years: the prince's clear gain from all his works, was about sixty five thousand florins, or 6500*l*. a year. He works them almost all himself; for some years past he has lost, in digging a gold mine in the neighbourhood of Gastein, about twenty thousand florins, or 2000*l*. a year, which he has ventured, in the treacherous hopes of being rewarded in time, with a rich spoil, and partly that the valley where it is dug, whose inhabitants live solely by these works, may not become a waste. The iron here is brittle, and in no great request. The prince has also a brass

manu-

manufactory on his own account, but the calamine necessary for it grows every day more scarce in the country.

Mr. Busching says, in his account of Germany, that he 'learns from good authority, ' that the income of the archbishop amounts to ' four millions of florins,' or 400,000*l*. If the prince would make me his farmer-general, I durst hardly offer him twelve hundred thousand florins, or 120,000*l*. for his whole revenue. I am pretty confident, that the taxes, tolls, and crown-lands, &c. in which I include the produce of the mines, &c. do not yield much above six hundred thousand florins, or 60,000*l*. The excise, customs, and other taxes levied in the capital, together with the prince's breweries, must bring in four hundred and thirty-five thousand more, or 43,500*l*. before I could clear any thing by my contract.

The extent of the country is estimated at two hundred and forty German square miles. There are only seven or eight towns, some of which are not to be compared with a Suabian village. The total number of inhabitants is computed at two hundred and fifty thousand, of which the capital contains fourteen thousand. There is only one manufacture in the whole country, which is a small one at Hallein for cotton stockings, and night-caps. Since there

has

has been a good road made to Trieste, Salzburg carries on a considerable trade in spices and drugs, with which it supplies a great part of Bavaria. The roads through this mountainous country are in general very good. Notwithstanding here and there you pass on wooden bridges hung by chains, over some dreadful abysses, the heaviest carriages have nothing to fear, except perhaps the being overfet by a violent blast of wind, or being covered by a fall of snow in spring. On my journey to the bath at Gastein, one of the wildest regions of this country, I saw all that was possible to be done to render the most dreadful abysses and steepest rocks passable. In this journey I saw also one of the most remarkable water-falls which I ever met with. A powerful stream precipitates itself almost from the clouds, upon a rock beneath, which rises a hundred feet high above the way, and thence so strongly recoils in an arch, that a traveller, who passes under this arch, is not in the least wet. In front this wall cannot be seen, because it is too narrow, and the opposite rock is too steep; but a little distance off, when viewed from the side, it presents a most extraordinary aspect.

L E T T E R X V .

Saltzburg.

I AM a lover of mountain scenes. I am by no means one of those whose feelings are only to be excited by what is monstrous, who love strong emotions, because they are commonly insensible to the gentler affections, and who seek for satisfaction from baren rocks, from boundless plains of ice and snow, because by intemperate use of the joys which milder regions present, they are disgusted with them. To me the most uniform plain is variety enough, to keep my heart in that degree of warmth, and my senses within the limits which are necessary for the uninterrupted enjoyment of nature. I embrace the tree, which suddenly affords me a shade, after I have long wandered through a barren and level spot. The moss upon a heath allures me, and the rivulet which steals through some unextensive meadow, interests me sufficiently without the noise of a water-fall. I am however, impartial enough to do all justice to the mountain views, and allow them, in respect to beauty, the preference over the plains. The pulse of nature beats stronger here, every thing disco-

discovers more life and energy, every thing more loudly, and emphatically speaks an almighty Power at work. - The stream which, without knowing the path it must pursue, meanders slowly through the plain, rushes through the mountains, and grows impetuous in its course; the motion of the clouds, the revolutions of the sky, and the peals of thunder, are all more strong and animated. The vallies in the fair season of the year, are filled with finer perfumes of flowers and herbs than those of the plains, whose soil is not so fit to preserve their radical moisture, and where their exhalations are dissipated more widely in the air. Nature here is more varied, and infinitely more picturesque. Of her different shades, an inhabitant of the plain can form no conception, but from the contrast, they all, even the smallest features of them, appear more striking and engaging. Here at once nature presents the peculiarities of every season, and the most different climes. As long as the summer lasts, in the bottom of the valley the heat of Africa is felt; in the middle of the mountain you enjoy the moderate temperature of spring; and the top reminds you of Siberia. And how various are the forms, chains and heaps of mountains and hills!

Man resembles his soil, unless education and society change him. The peasant of this country bears the stamp of nature upon him. His

movements are quick, like the stream in his wood ; he is boisterous in his passions, like the atmosphere ; he breathes strong as the oak which shades him ; and is faithful, firm and true as the rock which bears his hut. The life and variety of the scenes which nature offers him, render his head richer in conceptions, and his heart warmer than it would be if he dwelt upon an uniform plain, and gave himself up to nature as he does here. His distance from populous places, and the scattered situation of the huts, which give him few opportunities for distraction from his own concerns, preserve his manners pure, dispose him to reflection, and make him more attentive to his own proper business. In his make, the expression of his countenance, his gestures and language, he has greatly the advantage of the Bavarian peasant. I regret incessantly that my want of sufficient skill in the provincial dialect, prevents my communing with these mountaineers, so agreeably as I wish to do. The unspeakable openness of heart which they shew, their frequent instances of good-will and affection, together with the good humour and native pleasantry legible in their looks, endear them at first sight to every friend of humanity. Many of them still wear long beards, and those in the remoter parts *thou* every body, even their princes. The disease of the throat is not uncommon
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with them, though it be not so prevalent as some travellers choose to report it. In general they are a very handsome set of people.

The diminution made in the population and agriculture of these lands, by the emigration of the protestants about fifty years ago, is not yet recovered. In this master-piece of bad government, the weakness of a prince, and the selfish treachery of a minister, were beyond measure conspicuous. I have read over the papers which give an account of this wonderful event, to my great edification. Those are much deceived who ascribe the cause of this extraordinary commotion to religious principles, propagated in these mountains at the time of the reformation. From the writings before me it appears that very few had any distinct idea of the Augsburg, or Helvetican confessions of faith. These may possibly have contributed something; but most of these new protestants became so through reflection and discourses among themselves, the causes of which were furnished by maxims selected from catholic sermons and religious books. Had they been allowed unlimited freedom of religion in the country, they certainly would have founded an intire new sect, which would have had little resemblance to either Calvinism or Lutheranism.— Most of those who were heard judicially in their own defence, answered the question, ‘ Whether

‘ they would confefs to the Lutheran or the Catholic church?’ directly, ‘ No, to neither of them. We believe, but not what our countrymen believe, but keep ourfelves merely to the Scriptures.’ Many circumftances, with which the reformers of the fixteenth century had no concern, occafioned a fort of rebellion of men’s underftandings. Peafants and mechanics became preachers in their own houfes, or under fome tree in a fequeftered place. In fhort, we muft do thefe people the honour to fay, they were almoft entirely their own teachers. It was when they were obliged to feek foreign protection from the oppreffion of their own lords, and enter into treaty with the king of Pruffia, that they declared themfelves of a feft, which, by the treaty of Weftphalia, was privileged in the empire, and they did it becaufe no other means could have fecured them from total oppreffion.

The archbifhop of that time was a good man, who truly loved his fubjects, and did every thing poffible, according to his judgment, to guide them in the ftraight path to happinefs. He fent capuchins as miffionaries into the mountains, whofe capuchins and beards however could get no hold on men whofe underftandings were awakened. He prayed inceffantly for the conversion of his ftrayed fheep, and fpared neither gold nor kind words to recover them back to heaven. The
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loss of so many souls was far more grievous to him than the departure of so many poor from the culture of his lands, and the consequent diminution of his income.

His chancellor, however, viewed things in a quite different light. He had calculated what benefits he could derive to himself by the emigration of so many thousand inhabitants, and the sale of so many estates. He made use of the weakness of his prince, on this most plausible occasion, to fill his own purse. He represented to him how dangerous it was for the safety of his yet right-believing subjects to permit heretics to dwell among them. Taking advantage of the following answer made by one of the adherents to the new doctrine to a neighbour, who had given him great provocation: ‘Stay only till the king of Prussia’s six thousand men draw near; we shall strike all your heads off. He is another kind of monarch than the archbishop, and he is already on his march to us, &c.’ The patriotic chancellor discovered high treason, in a speech which was only the expression of a rash, unguarded moment of passion. By a single word he became the actual cause of the retreat of about twenty-five thousand men, by which he gained about fifty thousand, and the archbishop lost one hundred thousand florins of his yearly income. —The king of Prussia sent two of his commissaries

ries here, who were ordered to protect the property of those who chose to retire into his territories, and brought out of the country the greatest part of the gold which was got by the sale of the houses, properties, and goods of the refugees.

There are still over all the mountains many adherents to the new doctrine. I made acquaintance with one, who is in every respect too remarkable not to introduce him to you also. Some days ago I visited with another gentleman the sheriff, or, as he is termed here, the constable of Werfen, a very polite and clear thinking man; for, in the most remote parts of these mountains, the information of the people exceeded my expectations. This excursion gave me pleasure in every step.

From the pass of Lueg, where the great valley begins, the road runs for two miles into Werfen, through a narrow gully, between naked rocks, which in many places stand like heaven's high walls on each side. The scattered clumps of wood at the foot of this chain of mountains; the wild variety in the course of the river Saltz; the extraordinary incisions, formation, and complexion of the rocks; the marks of the former height of the river, visible many fathoms above its present bed; the single station of the very few inha-

inhabitants; and the striking disposition of the whole, gives this otherwise solitary landscape sufficient attractions to fix a traveller's attention. The castle of Werfen stands by the spot of this name, where the valley begins to widen remarkably, upon a detached rock of a conical form, which rises in the middle of the gully. On one side of it there is scarcely room for the road, and on the other, scarcely room for the river. The front of the castle commands a prospect over the wide part of the valley, which runs between hills, part of which are well cultivated, and part covered with rich woods; and from the back you see the narrow deep glen, through which the traveller has come, the rocky points of which are shining in the sun, while in the depth below perpetual darkness sits encamped. In the castle many prisoners are confined, who are sometimes obliged to work in chains. I was struck peculiarly with the form and countenance of a man, of whom I had already heard much reported. He has the figure of a handsome elderly man, of something more than sixty years, who still preserves a fine ruddy complexion. His strong long beard, and beautiful black hair, are here and there mixed with grey very thinly scattered. His carriage is as light, and he holds himself as straight as a youth in his full strength. His fore-

forehead, and the whole formation of his countenance is regular, and his large blue speaking eyes, must fix the attention of any one the least acquainted with mankind upon him. An inexpressible solemnity of soul, and the pride inseparable from a great character, are pictured in his countenance. I desired to hear him tell his history, and now give it you from his own words, as nearly as I can.

‘ I have been now,’ said he, ‘ twenty-four
 ‘ years a prisoner here. I still remember the
 ‘ emigration of the many thousands of my coun-
 ‘ trymen, in which, though I was then but young,
 ‘ I took great concern. As I grew up, the me-
 ‘ mory of this event made the strongest impression
 ‘ on me. The joy with which so many of my
 ‘ neighbours quitted their native country, to
 ‘ shun any force on their consciences, and be un-
 ‘ restrained and free in their faith, had something
 ‘ great and affecting in it to me. This made the
 ‘ remonstrances of my friends and acquaintances,
 ‘ who did not agree in opinion with the capu-
 ‘ chins, find an easy access to my mind. I
 ‘ opened the Scriptures, compared the doctrine
 ‘ I met with there with the Pope’s, and formed
 ‘ my own religion, the principles of which I did
 ‘ not keep very secret, because I believed them
 ‘ true. As at that time the capuchins, who wan-
 ‘ dered about the whole country as missionaries,
 ‘ had

‘ had spies every where, they could not fail but
 ‘ hear at last of some assertions which escap-
 ‘ ed me in the heat of religious disputation.
 ‘ They instantly pursued and persecuted me
 ‘ wherever I was. At last they came into my
 ‘ house, and insisted on a confession of my faith.
 ‘ I answered according to my conviction, and
 ‘ laid my doubts before them; however this
 ‘ did not signify. They constantly went from
 ‘ the point; it was of no avail to interrogate
 ‘ them on matters of faith; faith must be impli-
 ‘ cit, and I must deliver a confession of faith. I
 ‘ told them it was utterly impossible to believe
 ‘ what was contrary to the conviction of my mind;
 ‘ but all did not serve.

‘ When I saw that they could not convince me,
 ‘ and that they paid no regard to my internal
 ‘ conviction, I told them to leave me in peace,
 ‘ and staked my honour and my life to them that
 ‘ I would conceal my religious opinions, nor
 ‘ make any converts to them. This was in vain;
 ‘ every day they rudely broke into my house,
 ‘ and pressed me to a confession of faith which
 ‘ belied my conscience. Sir, I did all that was
 ‘ possible to obtain peace from them, but it was
 ‘ impossible. One day, as I returned fatigued
 ‘ from the field, and was going to refresh myself
 ‘ with some provision, the capuchins came again

‘ rio-

‘ riotouſly into my houſe. I had for ſome time
‘ before this reſolved not to ſay a word to them,
‘ except good day or good evening. As they
‘ began their old clamour again, I heard them a
‘ long time compoſed and quiet, and took my
‘ fare with better reliſh the more they curſed
‘ me. However, as there appeared to be no end
‘ of it, I retired into a corner behind the oven,
‘ to let them rail as long as they pleaſed. But
‘ even there I was not ſecure; at laſt I threw
‘ myſelf impatiently on the bed, and as one of
‘ them approached me even here, and dunned in
‘ my ears, I turned my back to him, but imme-
‘ diately there was another of them at the other
‘ ſide, who made a ſtill more horrid clack than
‘ his companion. At laſt I became enraged, and
‘ told them I was maſter in my own houſe, and, as
‘ they continued ſtill to behave worſe and worſe,
‘ I ſprung up, ſeized the firſt thing I could lay
‘ hold of, which I believe was a broom, and beat
‘ them out of my houſe. I was now treated not
‘ only as an obdurate heretic, but as a blaſphe-
‘ mer who had laid ſacrilegious hands upon the
‘ holy prieſts. They took me priſoner, and
‘ brought me here in chains. At firſt I ſuffered
‘ dreadfully. A hundred times I ſaid, if they
‘ would only convince me, I would confeſs with
‘ heart and ſoul. But it was all to no purpoſe.
‘ They endeavoured to force me to go into the
‘ church

‘ church to confess, to reveal my opinions on
 ‘ religion, &c. I told them I could publish no-
 ‘ thing further of my religion, than that I did not
 ‘ believe what they believed. They either would
 ‘ or could not convince me, and then I became
 ‘ impatient to go to the church, but they told
 ‘ me I could not be permitted, unless it was for
 ‘ the purpose of changing my faith and confes-
 ‘ sing my errors. The incessant importunity of
 ‘ the capuchins for a confession of faith from me
 ‘ was the most insufferable of all. All my soli-
 ‘ citations to be indulged, and all remonstrances
 ‘ of the futility of a verbal confession unless the
 ‘ heart joined in it, were of no service. At last
 ‘ I resolved to behave like a mute and hold no
 ‘ more discourse with them; which resolution,
 ‘ for eighteen whole years, I have literally per-
 ‘ sisted in; a few years ago they began to treat
 ‘ me more kindly, and since that time I have
 ‘ resumed my speech.’

The constable confirmed to us that this ex-
 traordinary man had not uttered a syllable for
 eighteen whole years; and that during that
 time no one had ever seen a cloud upon his brow,
 or a feature of ill-humour, in his countenance.
 Whatever was enjoined him to do, which did
 not concern religion, he complied with calmly,
 and always chearfully. A slight cast of disdain
 of the people about him is all that has
 been

been remarked. When one considers that his clearness of head, his open nature and good humour, must very naturally and very strongly dispose him to society and the communication of his sentiments, his voluntary dumbness must appear astonishing. By his good behaviour during his captivity, he has induced the prince, who is a great lover of toleration, to let his chains be taken off, and at the request of the constable a considerable addition has been made to his daily allowance. He has gained so much confidence, that they have made him a kind of superintendent over his fellow-prisoners. He has often been sent entirely loose and free to work with them at places from whence it would have been easy for him to have escaped ; but his character is a better security for his person than the strongest chains. He has procured to himself, without being sensible of it himself, so much respect from his brother captives, that with a single word he can keep them better in awe than the jailor with his staff. Nature has secured to him a superiority over the multitude of mankind, although she bred him in a cottage. His leisure hours are at present employed in teaching a young incendiary, who has lain for some years in prison, in chains, for wickedly setting fire to his father's house, to read and to write, without however instilling into him any of his religious opinions.

These

These he preserves so secret at present, that I could not with the most confidential entreaties, and all my prayers and petitions, obtain any disclosure from him. All he answered was, ' I do not believe what the capuchins believe, and want nothing but a bible to lead a contented life.' Some years ago his wife was permitted to see him ; but, without shewing the smallest desire to enjoy her, after some warm and kind exhortations for her welfare, he dismissed her.—A bible, after which his soul thirsts so ardently, they are backward to allow him, because they are unwilling to add any more flame to his enthusiasm.—All the Saltzburg ladies and gentlemen, in whose company I had the honour of seeing him, discovered the highest respect for him ; but they were all unanimous in declaring that it had not been very political conduct to become a martyr for so small a matter as was demanded of him.

The country people here are uncommonly lively and gay. The young women of these sequestered corners of our continent all fresh as roses, and lively as the roe, yet understand the art of coquetry as well as our Parisian dames, only the allurements which they display for conquest are more natural. They know how to employ the ornamental parts of dress to the best advantage. If they are disposed to make a lover
happy,

happy, neither the shame of an illegitimate birth, nor the fear of being obliged to maintain a child, is of any consideration. Custom sets them above the first, and the ease of maintaining a child makes them disregard the other. The punishment which they incur for such a *faux-pas* is hardly worth mentioning. Murder of infants is extremely uncommon here; without constraint, without reserve, they all yield to the impulses of nature. The young girls kiss and shake hands, in the open church on Sundays, with those they love. On a nightly visit, however, the lover is rather in a hard situation; for however unfriendly the weather may be, the window or door is not opened to him, until a certain watchword is given, which consists commonly of long rhymes, in which he is obliged to express, in a mysterious manner, his sufferings and smart.—This custom is very old, and in many of the remote parts of the mountains sacred and inviolable.—Nor can the connection between the parties, however long or however close, enable them to dispense with it. A young peasant very seldom forsakes his girl, particularly when, after having two or three children by her, he can marry her.

The inhabitants of these mountains are so contented with their state, that they consider their country as a kind of Paradise. Those who live
in

in Dintner Valley, a frightful gap between naked rocks, through which the river Dintner runs, have a saying, ‘When any one falls from heaven he must fall into Dintner Valley.’ Which is as much as to say, this Valley is the second heaven. For a long time I could not explain why the good people entertained such a high opinion of a deep glen, where often for weeks together it snows so much that one can neither come out nor go in, and which forms so striking a contrast with many neighbouring and very attracting districts. I considered it at first as irony, but I learnt at last it was meant entirely in earnest, and that the unlimited freedom which the inhabitants of this extraordinary Paradise enjoy had given rise to this high hyperbole.—They consist solely of shepherds, miners and iron melters, who are entirely free from taxes, and, on account of their small payments to the government and their remoteness of situation, are little taken notice of by their superiors. The taxes paid, in general, by the inhabitants of this country are very moderate, and the freedom from the extortions under which the rest of Germany groans, contributes, no doubt, greatly to the good humour of the people. Till within a short time, estates were taxed in proportion to their value, the beginning of this century, which, as you may suppose, bears no proportion to the present price
of

of things. The attempt the present fovereign has been making to raise a more equitable tax, has occasioned some murmur; there, however, he is not so much to blame, as his income is proportionably much smaller than that of the other German princes; and what he has done has not only the sanction of the states of the country, but is guaranteed by them, so that the people have no cause to fear a farther rise; but what makes him unpopular is, his excessive love of hunting, which has occasioned some acts of oppressive power, for which, after all, his servants and ministers may be more to blame than himself. In the several parts of the country, the farmers are prohibited from driving their sheep to certain pastures bordering upon woods, lest the game in these should be deprived of sustenance. This, to a people who, as I told you before, make all the woollen cloth they wear from the shearings of their own sheeps, must appear an intolerable hardship. Prohibitions of this kind must also be attended with very bad effects of another sort. The peasants of this country are very averse to all kinds of innovation; there have been instances of their declaring somewhat loudly, that they would put themselves on the same footing with the Swifs; and yet when their prince dies of old age, they shew an uncommon affection for him. O that princes knew how to
set

set a due value on the affections of their fellow-creatures!

Many of the peasants of this country still wear long beards, and go with their heads uncovered, and their breasts open, at all times of the year. As they are extremely hairy, and very much sun-burnt, this gives them a very formidable appearance at some distance, but when you come near them, their friendly looks, and appearance of integrity, recommend them very strongly. They are courageous and strong, and would, no doubt, make a stout stand in defence of their own country; but out of it, according to the report of the best officers, they do not make good soldiers. Like all its inhabitants of mountains, they do not bear climate well. Besides this, the peculiarity of diet which they have been used to from their youth, and are obliged to give up in the field, makes them unfit for service. By good fortune their sovereign has little concern in keeping up the balance of Europe. In general, they are much more civil than the Swiss, and by no means so thirsty of gain as these are, who, however hostile they may be to paying taxes themselves, never fail to lay strangers under very severe ones. I have several times been shewn my way, and received other small services from these people, without being

able

able to make them take any thing for their trouble. Fare you well.

L E T T E R XVI.

Saltzburg.

IN Pilati's Journey through different Parts of Europe, I remember to have read an anecdote, intended to paint the intolerant spirit of the Saltburghers.—It is indeed very true, that persons of all ranks are obliged to kneel down in the streets, when the host passes by, a ceremony made particularly distressing, by the peculiar brutality of the Sacristans of the place: I have likewise heard some good hearted girls lament, with a most serious tone of compassion; that some friends of mine, who have been here a few days, are protestants. Except, however, the kneeling to the sacrament, which every man may easily prevent, as the bell is heard at a great distance, I do not see what a protestant has to be apprehensive of. There are many companies in every rank of life, into which a stranger may be admitted, let his religion be what it will. Money, and good words, will procure

you

you meat, in most of the inns, on fast days; and the people, who, especially in such places, mimic the manners of their superiors, have lost much of the ferocious and intolerant spirit they had contracted under a bigotted prince.

There is very good company to be met with amongst the nobility, particularly amongst the canons, several of whom are distinguished for knowledge of various kinds. The present metropolitan, who is brother to the well known Count Firmian, the governor of Milan, is well acquainted with the best Italian, French, German, and English writers. He has almost a compleat collection of the latter in his well chosen library. He is a most amiable man, and makes the best use of his benefices, which bring him in an income of 20,000 guilders, or 2000 pounds a year. The high steward, who is another brother of the governor's, is a great lover of painting, and a deep connoisseur in it. His fine collection of the portraits of artists, most of which are painted by himself, is hardly inferior to that of Florence. The shock this gentleman lately felt from one of the severest afflictions which can strike a father's heart, has weakened the powers of his soul, and spread a cloud over the not to be described and almost infantine goodness, that beams upon his countenance. He had an eldest son, the hopes

of the family, and a very promising young man, who was already dean of Passau, and bade fair to be a bishop, if not archbishop of Saltzburg. His father made him a visit, and took him out a hunting. They were on different sides of the hedge, when unluckily the father gave fire, and shot the son through the heart. As soon as he had done it, he sprung through the hedge like a madman, tore his hair, and wallowed in the snow. They were obliged to tear him away from the place by force. Count Wolfegg, another of the canons, has taken a journey through France, purposely with a view of becoming acquainted with our manufactures. This gentleman is well known to our best artists, but his particular passion is botany, in which he is very excellent. The groom of the stole, Count Kuenburg, is a very sensible man, extremely pleasant, witty, and sociable. His library, in the formation of which he has not consulted the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, contains all our best authors. The bishop of Chiensee, the count of Tieb, and several more of the high nobility are respectable, both on account of their knowledge and virtues. The upper nobility of the place is made up chiefly of Austrian families, who distinguish themselves by their affability, their knowledge of the world, and their manners, from the stupidly proud Bavarian and Suanbian

bian barons. On the other hand, the lesser nobility, the swarm of little court gentry, render themselves ridiculous by their pitiable luff after titles, and their wretched pride. You must here visit about a hundred *Gnadige herrn**, who live upon three or four hundred florins a year, which they receive from the court, but whom you cannot offend more than by calling them plain Sir, or their wives plain Madam. A man who lives here must accustom himself to put in *Gnadige herrn* at every third word, unless he chooses to pass for ill-bred. Such, however, is the astonishing poverty of this class of people, that you visit several *Gnadige herrn*, who take up with housekeepers places, or the office of sisters in the hospitals. They all complain that the court doth not give them enough to live according to their rank; but, unluckily, I have never been able to find out what their rank is. Most of them have neither estates nor money; but they would look upon it as a great degradation to suffer their children to be brought up to any trade or business. The court is therefore compelled to make their appointments as slender as possible, that it may be able to keep them from starving; though above two-thirds of them are superfluous servants. Their rank, therefore, seems to depend on the

* German title of noblesse, which means, Gracious Sir.

pleasure of the court to feed a great number of useless servants, and on their impudent confidence in that pleasure. Once, however, give them their right titles, and you will find them the best people in the world. Many of them amuse themselves with French and German literature, particularly with all that relates to the stage. The rage for the theatre is as violent as it is at Munich; and they look for the coming of a company of strollers, with as much eagerness as the inhabitants of Siberia look for the return of spring. A French engineer, in the prince's service, has built them a pretty theatre. It is adorned with columns, which support nothing but a black board before the curtain, with the arms of the prince on it. Upon the whole, knowledge seems to be more diffused here than it is at Munich. Though the governor is an ecclesiastic, there are not near so many cloisters, in proportion to the size of the two places, as in Bavaria; and the ecclesiastics of the place are very advantageously distinguished from the others, by good manners, humility, an endeavour to live up to their character, and other virtues. Government is likewise much better understood here than it is at Munich. Too much cannot be said of the head of the present prince, but of his heart—I know nothing. He knows that he is not beloved by the Saltsburghers, and
for

for that reason neglects them, and shuts himself up. I believe the complaints made of him to be much too violent. They accuse him of sending above 300,000 florins to his family at Vienna, every year, and part of the states of the city, that is, almost all the chapter of the cathedral, have brought actions against him, in the imperial court of Vienna, for taking the ready money out of the chest, and filling it with paper, which they cannot change into cash. I do not know how far the charge made by this respectable chapter may be well grounded; but it is certain, that he has displayed an uncommon depth of acuteness and penetration, in his defence of himself. Several of the present canons were hostile to him, from his first coming to the archbishopric, which they had entertained hopes of themselves, and which was procured for him by the court of Vienna. Supposing him, however, to rob the country of part of its property, it is certain that he disposes of the rest to the best advantage. He has founded several good seminaries of education. He is not at all partial to his own order, as appears from his having taken away at a stroke 100,000 florins from the Augustinian monks. One half of this he put in his own pocket, the other half he has given to the public. As in every thing else, so also in his passion for hunting, the only passion he has, he is extremely parsimo-

parsimonious. A batallion of the finest foldiers I have hitherto beheld, disciplined in the Austrian manner, and the officers of which are attached to him, secures him from all accidents.

Every thing here breathes the air of pleasure and joy. They eat, drink, laugh, dance, sing, and gamble in the extreme; nor have I yet seen a place where you may have so many different pleasures for so little money. They converse here upon religious and political topics, with a freedom that does honour to the place; and with regard to books, you may have almost every thing which the German presses produce, without any restraint. One of the resorts of pleasure is the garden of Hellbron, belonging to the prince, which is about three miles off, and where they sell beer and wine. The most remarkable thing, except some very fine marble statues, is a very large park, in the midst of which is a hill.

The university of this place is kept up by the congregation of Benedictines, who supply it with professors. As having studied here, is a kind of requisite for preferment to the subjects of the Suabian prelates of the empire, it is a place of great resort for these; but there are few students besides these and the natives, though the chairs are filled with able men. The funds of the university are, indeed, too small to make it possible
for

for all the objects, which the literature of the present day embraces, to be properly taken care of. They do not amount in all to above 5000 florins, or 500l. per annum.

I do not know what to say about the national pride, for which these people are so much censured. With regard to myself, I respect whatever at all contributes to the happiness of mankind, how small and insignificant soever it may appear. How wretched should we be, if we were to be robbed of the pleasant play of our fancies! The inhabitants of this country are extremely angry, if you call them Bavarians. I had conceived to myself, that as their country is within that circle, they were as true Bavarians as the Wirtembergers are Suabians; but I was told that the comparison with the Suabians did not hold, for that no particular part of Suabia is properly called Suabia; whereas the circle of Bavaria, taking its name from the dukedom which constitutes the greatest part of it, might as well have been called the circle of Saltzburg. All I can make out clearly from this is, that the Saltburghers will have nothing to do with the Bavarians, whom they consider as infinitely inferior to them. Indeed it is true, that there is a little more taste, a little more *sçavoir vivre*, and a little less bigotry in this place, than in Bavaria; but

but the rating themselves so excessively high, and degrading the Bavarians below the rank of wild beasts, is undoubtedly owing to the good fairy Phantasy. At least, the gentlemen and ladies ought to remember, that if the horizon is a little clearer here, at present, than it is all around them, it is entirely owing to the present archbishop, who, with his holy rod, has dispelled the magic darkness of superstition in his domains. A revolution of the same kind may raise the Bavarians much above what they now are in a short time. Indeed, there are still symptoms enough here of the darkness which totally overspread the place fifteen or twenty years ago. The prisons allotted to ecclesiastics have in them a priest, who some time since, in order to impress his parish with a greater hatred of sin, and a greater fear of the devil, dressed up the school-master of the place like Beelzebub, and in the midst of service called him up from a hiding-place he had provided for him, to bear witness to the truth.

This country is singularly interesting to a botanist, or mineralogist; but having the misfortune, unluckily, to be very little known, the discovery of the treasures contained in it is reserved for futurity, when either a man of genius shall addict himself to these pursuits, or the swarm of idle travellers, who hover, like cock-chafers, alternately
about

about the Appenines, the Alps, Ætna, and the Pyreneans, shall at length for once take their flight to these parts, and by their cry excite some foreign genius to the task. The Zillerthal is particularly rich in different sorts of variegated stones, and in many parts of the hills you meet with very scarce European plants. In fine, there is a room for weaving many an hypothesis on the plants of the hills, on the work and production of the waters in them, and on the revolutions of nature that may still be expected.

Before I dismiss you, I must give you some account of a marquisate in the Holy Roman Empire, which hardly a geographer amongst us is acquainted with the existence of. It is the marquisate of *Berchtolsghaden*, of which there is a fine view from the top of the *Unterberge*, which is its limit to the north. It consists of a small narrow vale, encompassed around with rocks, and hardly contains 3000 souls. The place is broken by some lakes, and the lower part of the hills is covered with deep woods. A few days ago, we had an excellent dinner in one of the large islands of the lake, made up of fish we had caught in it, some exquisite venison, and Tyrol wine.—Mark, that there is no deficiency of cooks in the most distant and sequestered nooks of this country.

The nature of this country being favourable neither to agriculture nor pasture, the inhabitants have given themselves to works of art, which fill mankind in no part of the earth, and are mighty and powerful enough to turn the hardest stones into bread. It is in these remote valleys that they make the greatest part of the toys, with which Nuremberg and Augsberg carry on so considerable a trade. The horses with spurs, little rasps, cuckows, wooden mannikins, rats and mice, and all the play-things for little children; also the crucifixes, straw quadrille boxes, powder and pomatum boxes, and all the play-things for great children; in a word, the greater part of the articles which go, amongst us, under the name of German toys, come out of this gulph. It is a pretty sight enough to behold two or three families, gathered together in a hut, and to see the great plump hands of the farmers occupied in giving a finish to the smallest articles. There is occupation for the gray headed, as well as for prattling infancy. The very small price for which the makers part with these commodities, makes it impossible for them to accumulate riches; but they have enough, and are happy with it. These good people little think that their productions are brought to us, and that the Spaniards drive a very profitable trade with them, in
both

both the Indies. A small part of these people also occupy themselves in salt making; but as it must all be carried through Bavaria, which abounds in the commodity, they part with it for a song. In this article they suffer much from a powerful neighbour on the Saltsburg side; for Saltsburg has extended its salt mines far beyond the limits that part the two countries; and though the marquis has made several remonstrances, nobody has attended to his complaints.

Besides this country, the marquis of *Bertochsgalden* possesses some estates in Austria and Bavaria; the value of which altogether may amount to about 60,000 guilders per annum; but the dissipation of former marquisses has occasioned the contraction of a large debt.

L E T T E R X V I I .

Passau.

I SAILED hither from Saltsburg, on the Saltza and Inn. Water journies have great allurements for me, from the variety of company one generally meets with in them. The vessel was very full as far as Burghausen. Here a great
part

part of my companions got out, to go on a pilgrimage to the neighbouring Ottingen. The pilgrims consisted of a great number of young persons of both sexes, who seemed to have far other purposes than those of expiating their *old* offences. As we spent the night together at the inn at Burghausen, I had opportunity enough to see that there would be a great weight added to the former load.

There still remained company enough on board for my entertainment. I met with no great entertainment from some Austrian recruits, and some students, who were going away for the vacation: but a *gnadige frau* *, from Saltzburg, who was going to Vienna, with a view of getting into a cook's or chambermaid's place, which her rank did not suffer her to accept of in her own country, made up to me, and was very good company. This good girl so entirely won my heart by her ingenuity, her taste, her good heart, and her variety of knowledge, that I desired she would call upon me at Vienna, and let me know in what I could serve her. A young woman, who leaves home for the first time, must feel herself sadly distressed in the midst of a large city.

We passed the boundaries that part Austria and Bavaria. The small part of Bavaria to our right, which has lately come into the possession

* Titled woman.

of the Austrians, does not make more than thirty-eight German miles, and hardly contains 60,000 men. The revenue it furnishes is about 18,000 rix-dollars, so that it hardly seems worth the eighth part of the expence which Austria has been at in the attempt to gain it. The views, however, which this court had in this undertaking, are far more extensive than was thought by the court of Versailles, where the whole was considered as a dispute about a nutshell. This is not the first time that the King of Prussia has been obliged to apprize our wise minister of the consequences which the steps of certain courts would draw after them, consequences which would otherwise certainly have been overlooked. When the Court of Austria found the King of Prussia, as formidable an adversary with his pen, as with his sword, and were compelled by the light given to Russia, to have recourse to negotiation, they pretended that they wanted to make the Inn under Wassenburg the limit betwixt Bavaria and their dominions, and from thence to penetrate into Bohemia by the Iser, the Danube, and the Upper Palatinate; and in return for this they proposed to cede some of their possessions in Suabia, to the Court of Munich. Our minister the Baron de Breteuil would gladly have consented to this exchange; but the accurate knowledge which the King of Prussia had of the advantages

vantages and situation of these countries, enabled him to open the eyes of our court and of Russia. He shewed them that Austrian Suabia could be no equivalent for a great part of Bavaria, because the income which the Austrian country yielded was already the highest that could be got from it; whereas the lands in Bavaria, considering the bad cultivation of them at that time, might easily be made capable of producing much more than what they were estimated at. He shewed them that Austria would be a considerable gainer by the exchange, which would effectually put it in possession of Bavaria, by giving it the salt-pits at Reichehall, and the trade for the Saltzburg salts; that by this means it would not only possess itself of the remainder of Bavaria, but render Suabia, and a great part of Switzerland dependant on it for a very important commodity; that Saltzburg and Passau would, in fact, though not in appearance, become dependant on the Court of Vienna, and that finally the Palatinate, restrained as it already is, by the possessions of Austria on all sides of it, would have no power at all, and be entirely unable to make any efforts whatever.

These representations were attended with such effect, that the Emperor was obliged to put off the *making his German dominions square*, to a more favourable opportunity. I am of opinion,

opinion, however, that sooner or later Bavaria must bow to the Austrian yoke, however reluctant it may be to the operation. As a citizen of the world, and a friend to mankind, who, when the fate of a large country is at stake, always consider more the advantage of my fellow creatures than any other circumstance whatever, I wish that this alteration may soon take place. A much better government than they at present have, or are likely to possess whilst they remain a separate people, would not put the Bavarians in possession of the advantages they may expect from the uniting with Austria; the natural consequences of which will be certain peace, a much more extensive outlet for all their country produces, and the enjoyment of many things which Providence has denied to them, but bestowed plentifully upon Austria. Now, if you add to all these permanent and perpetual blessings, the present good to be expected from the system of government adopted by the family which now sits on the Imperial throne, the well wishers of Bavaria cannot help hoping to see the pretensions of that court enforced by a mightier arm.

Passau is a very miserable, and, those parts only excepted which lie about the Danube, and near the residence of the Prince, a very ill built town. It relies for subsistence on the court, (the income of which is estimated at about 220,000 florins,

florins, or 22,000l.) and on the canons, whose benefices are some of the fattest in all Germany. A stall here is supposed to be worth more than 3000 florins *per annum*; whereas those of Saltzburg are not worth more than 2500. But besides this, it is to be considered that almost every canon possesses two, three, or four prebends, and is a member of one or more of the Chapters of Saltsburgh, Augsburgh, Ratisbon, and other places; so that there are few canons in Germany whose incomes are not more than 5000 florins *per annum*. The inhabitants of these several holy cities are all much alike, as drinking and wenching are their great occupations; and the poverty and good humour, which seldom forsake those who are thus addicted, render them affable, obsequious, and humble. The cathedral is a fine Gothic building, which well deserves to be seen. The jurisdiction of the bishop, who is dependant only on the Pope, extends almost to Vienna, but his authority in Austria is already very much limited. In time it will be confined to his own doors, as the Imperial Court (to judge by what it has already done on the side of Venice) seems determined to render its territory as independent as may be, of all foreign spiritual jurisdiction. There are fine china manufactures and potteries in this country;

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the produce of the former is carried as far as the Rhine.

Some writers upon Switzerland have contended, that the Danube rises in this country, and not in Suabia. Their principal reason for saying so is, that where the Inn joins the Danube at this place, the first of these two streams has a greater body of water than the other. Suppose for a moment the fact to be true, still it would be a dispute of words; for who will refuse the public the privilege of calling a river by whatever name it pleases? Let it be called what it will at its source, the river Brege in the Black Forest, which when it meets the Danube is certainly much the largest of the two, is nevertheless obliged to give up its name to it:—but the very plea on which the Swiss ground their pretensions is only a deception. It is impossible to take a very small part of any river from a given place for the full measure of its greatness. The difference of soil in the bed, a stronger stream, and a variety of other circumstances, make the mass of water in a river very different at different places. Here, when the Danube meets the Inn, the former is cramped up by hills; whereas the other running free, is of course much wider. But the Danube contains far more water upon equal ground, and far above Ratibon, before it has received the great rivers Allmuh, Nob, Regen,

and Zier, is already a much mightier river than the Inn, which does not gain a great deal by the accession of the very unsteady and irregular Saltza, betwixt Wassenburg and Inspruck. Without doubt, therefore, Suabia has the honour of being the birth place of the mighty Danube, with which only the Volga amongst the European rivers can measure itself. If you come now to compare the *whole* course of the two rivers (which join here), from the source to the place of meeting, the Inn, by reason of its windings, certainly runs over more ground, but it is not to be compared with the Danube for width. Till it comes under Chuffstein the Inn flows in a very narrow valley; whereas the Danube domineers over the whole plain of Suabia and Bavaria. The Iller and the Lech, by having run into the Danube during a long way, soon become as considerable as the Inn is at Inspruck. This last river being confined to a very narrow valley receives no nourishment but from small streams; whilst the Danube gathers all the fatness of one of the richest lands possible in water, during a length of upwards of forty, and a breadth of twenty miles.

The course I have hitherto pursued in my journey through Germany has carried me through three large plains respectively watered by the
Rhine,

Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube. The first of these is bounded by the Bogesian hills and the Black Forest, which run parallel from North to South. By the Black Forest it is covered from the cold East winds, and the different arms of these parallel hills, likewise, defend it from the ungentle influences of the North. It enjoys an even and temperate climate, which allows the vine-yards to ripen admirably. The plain of the Neckar is of the same temperature as this last: But the immense plain of the Danube lies exposed to the blast of every wind under heaven.—The greatest part of it is exposed to the North and North-East, as is visible by the course of the Rivers Iller, Lech, and the Iser. Here Father Bacchus's power can avail nothing against the fierceness of Boreas and the North. Many attempts have been made to plant vines on the Iser and Danube below Ratisbon, but hitherto they have only produced grapes for eating; I believe that this whole tract of country is too full of wood and water for the vine to ripen in it.—But after all, what was Suabia and the country about the Rhine in the times of Tacitus? Little did the Romans think that the vine could grow in Germany. Did they not even doubt whether fruit could grow there? And yet Suabia now produces lordly vines, which may dispute for

excellence with the Falernian, and all the Roman wines ; and the still wilder Bavaria has plenty of good corn.

The fact is, that the air of a country changes with the cultivation ; the drying up of marshes renders it warmer. The evaporation, too, occasioned by numbers who live together, may work on the air. No doubt but in time still more successful experiments with the grape will be made in Bavaria. The slopes of the hills on the left side of the Danube, betwixt this place and Ratibon, promise a good place to plant the vine in, as they are well guarded from the noxious winds ; and the wine, which is actually made in the country about Passau, truly merits the name of wine.

This large vale of the Danube, which at this place is covered to the right by the arm of Bavaria, and to the left by the Styrian hills, produces likewise the best kind of corn. It would very easily nourish as many men again as it actually does. Corn is often so cheap in Bavaria, as hardly to pay the farmer for the trouble of raising it : one hundred and seventy pounds of rye are frequently sold for about two florins.

Navigation is by no means so well understood in this country as it is upon the Upper Rhine ; they do not yet understand how to sail according

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ing to the direction of the river. Most of the vessels which go by here come from Ratisbon and Ulm : they are without decks or masts ; they are built only of fir boards, and are sold again either at Vienna or elsewhere. 'The Emperor has promised great rewards to such masters of vessels as will build their vessels like those on the Rhine ; but in this, as in every thing else, it is difficult to make the mechanical part of the publick tread the track they have not been accustomed to.

As the navigation of the upper parts of the river is not yet established, there is often a want of horses at particular stages, so that you are frequently obliged to hire horses for the whole journey, though there are several places in which you might do very well without them. The vessels on the Rhine have the convenience of being able to go sometimes with two, and sometimes with six horses, according as the wind and streams happen to be favourable. They are obliged for this to the constant navigation of the river, which enables the people who inhabit the shore to have hackney horses at small distances from each other. Some of these obstacles will fall away of themselves as soon as the commerce of the country about the Danube grows more considerable ; the largest ship which goes from this place to Vienna carries 2000 quintals, which

is about the load of a two-masted vessel.—
Farewell.

L E T T E R XVIII.

Lintz.

I Waited at Passau for the vessel that goes every week from Ratisbon, and meant to have gone as far as Vienna in her; but the people stopt so often in the calmest weather, under pretence of fearing an approaching storm, that my patience was quite worn out. I could very well see that their true motive in stopping thus often, was to get rid of some of their contraband goods in the small places on the coast. Besides this, my company had but small charms for me; it consisted of a number of mechanics, who worked their passage, and of farmers daughters, who were going to Vienna for a service. Many of these were obviously with child, and seemed to have left their country in order to be delivered, with less shame and expence, in the hospital at Vienna. Austria is generally supplied with a plentiful number of recruits of this kind from this
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side. Such society not being at all to my mind, and on the other hand the city of Lintz, with the country round, presenting a fair prospect of amusement, I could not resist the temptation of giving up a few days to become better acquainted with it.

At Engellhartzell our baggage was searched. Every thing was conducted in the best order possible, and with a great deal of gentleness; the putting the custom-house seals to the merchandize of our vessel took up a whole day. It is still a riddle to me how the ship's company contrived to pass their contraband commodities (of the existence of which I was well assured); for the custom-house officers did not appear to me to be of a sort to suffer themselves to be bribed: as for me, the searchers directed their whole attention to my books; they took away from me Young's Night Thoughts, which I had purchased, out of compassion, from a poor student at Saltsburg, but suffered Gibbon's Works to pass. You know the last. The first is an excellent Christian, but his invective, not against the Catholics in general, but against those only who would not allow him to bury his child, has placed him amongst the Machiavels, Spinozas, and Bolingbrokes.

How ridiculous a thing does every *index expurgatorius* in the world appear, when one sees, as

one often does, that the bare title often damns a book; and when one considers, that no college of censors upon earth is equal to the task of reading over all the books that come out, so as to be able to give timely orders for stopping them on the frontiers of the country! Gibbon is a declared enemy to religion, and yet has been able to make his way into Austria!

In truth, this is the only weak part of the Imperial government. The prohibition of books only serves to raise their price in the country. In Switzerland, as well as at Inspruck, Saltzburg, and many other places, I was assured, that large quantities of forbidden books were every year introduced into Austria from this side of the frontier. Officers of the first rank, presidents, and counsellors, take a share in this trade; nor has the prohibition any other effect than making a Bailé's Dictionary (for instance), the true price of which is five guineas, sell at Vienna for 100 *thalers*; and for this price you may have enough of them. No doubt the same trade is carried on, from the Saxon and Silesian sides of the country.

As soon as you set your foot on Austrian ground, you begin to find that another system of government prevails from what you have lately been accustomed to see.

The farmers houses, their clothing, their tools, their agriculture, every thing about them, is better than in Bavaria. Yesterday, I saw some farmers going to market in calashes. They had all the appearance of rich English, or North-Holland farmers. Their looks, their well fed horses, and their whole apparatus, bespoke a degree of opulence, which their long, brown, but very neat coats; their large shoes without buckles; and their large short cut hats, did not seem to promise. They call these farmers here, *landers*, and their great numbers do the legislature much credit. You meet, indeed, now and then with beggars, who solicit your compassion for a bride or bridegroom just married; but this is more a compliance with an old established custom of the country than a matter of necessity. The large grey or black felt hats, as well as their whole clothing, make the farmers' daughters look very handsome.

Upper Austria is shut out from the fructifying west and south winds by large hills, and even the cleansing north is forbid entrance by the Bohemian mountains. Only the east has free entrance into it; nor can a country that has so much water be otherwise than very moist. The number of hills and woods too are very favourable to agriculture, so that the riches of the country consist

list chiefly in pastures, in salt, and apples, the quantity of which supplies the want of wine.

The situation of Lintz, which is the capital of this country, is extremely beautiful. From Schlofsberg, which is on the west-side of the city, you command a magnificent view of an immense plain to the right of the Danube. This is terminated to the south by the lofty hills of Styria, whose heads often top the clouds. The city, which is on this side the Danube, rises directly over against you, like a magnificent amphitheatre. The semicircle of beautiful high hills, by which it is encompassed, extend to the Danube. The deep white ground of these hills is thick covered with villages and houses, and amidst the hanging woods on the side; there are some castles which make a very fine appearance. The majestic Danube gives still more grandeur, life, and variety to this beautiful prospect.

The city is very handsome. It is built almost entirely of freestone. There is so much industry, happiness, and prosperity, among the eleven thousand inhabitants who dwell in it, as to make the Bavarian cities appear like so many poor-houses, in comparison of it. There are several considerable manufactures here, and the trade of the city is very extensive. There is very good company to be met with amongst the numerous and polished nobility, the officers who are constantly

stantly quartered here, and the several professors of the place. The city is open on all sides, and the town and country seem so united, that, if my spirit of knight errantry would allow it, I would pitch my tent, and lay up my travelling staff here. The nobility of the place chiefly consists of families, whose incomes are too small to allow of their living creditably at Vienna. One advantage, which arises from this, is, that they abate much of the *hauteur*, which renders the conversation of the Upper German nobility in general so unbearable.

The young women of this place have much better manners, more reading, and are in all respects better qualified to appear with advantage in society than the Bavarian dames; but they lose in body what they gain in mind. Their general want of colour, and their faded looks, in which are so strong a contrast to the animated open countenances of the others, are commonly attributed to the waters, and damp of the place; but I am of opinion that the evil lies elsewhere. A large garrison seldom contributes to the health of young women. The dress of the women of the lower rank is the handsomest I have ever seen. Their constitutions seem to be very warm, which explains the shrivelled state of their bodies.

The treatment of strangers here does not correspond with the softness and gentleness of manner, which the Austrian government assumes in every thing else. We were carried like prisoners from the vessel to the guard-room, where I was obliged to wait above half an hour, in a stinking-room, before the officer, who had the appearance of an inquisitor, had examined the several mechanics, and was at leisure to expedite my passport. This gentleman seemed to me to have it much more at heart to make recruits, than to recommend himself to his superiors by his good treatment of strangers.

Happening to have left my tobacco-box on board, I took a walk in search of it, through a very pleasant country, to the place where I knew the vessel must stop. I arrived just as some lower officers, with very fierce and surly countenances, were on board, once more to visit the mechanics, who imagined they had been dispatched at Lintz. They took away two Bohemians, under the pretence that the natives were not allowed to go from one province to another without a special permission. The men were indeed soon released on shewing their passes, but in the interval the vessel had sailed, and the men were obliged to walk several miles before they could come up with it again. The object of the soldiers was certainly to oblige these good people,
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by their delay, to enlist. A traveller in France, be his rank what it may, has no impediments of this kind to apprehend. As soon as his pass is sealed, and his trunk searched, nothing more can stop him. I was standing this morning on the banks of the river, to see them unload a vessel from Ulm, on board which I mean to take my passage to-morrow. Amongst the passengers were two of our countrymen, the one an elderly man, who was going to Vienna to get his bread as a language master; the other a *fri-seur*. A serjeant, with his bayonet fixed, asked them for their pass, which he tore out of their hands, with a ferocity I was not at all surpris'd at, because I knew it was natural to him. The language-master was offended at it, and muster'd all his German together, in order to make the soldier sensible of his importance. Though the serjeant could not make a word out of what the poor Frenchman would have said, yet the vivacity of the manner having made him conjecture it must be something not sufficiently respectful, he gave the other a punch in the ribs with the bayonet. On this, the Frenchman appealed to the spectators, and told them, that people were not thus treated in his country; but the only answer he got for this remonstrance, was from one of the mob, who advis'd him, if that was the case, in future to stay at home.—Such treatment

ment does not prepossess a stranger, who happens to have no opportunity of seeing better company, with a very favourable opinion of the country.

Remonstrances in general are but ill received here. The omnipotent stick is ever ready to answer interrogatories; and a man soon perceives, in every occurrence, that he is come into a military government, the foundation of which is absolute subordination. It is true, that persons of a certain rank are not exposed to this; but what then?—It appears to me, that whatever be the condition, or station, man owes to man good will and civility. Amongst us the least soldier is open to remonstrance, and answers it as well as he is able. Every body seems eager to shew the stranger that they take interest in his fate, that they are glad to see him in their country, and that they have a pride in giving him as good an opinion of them as possible.—The reason why we were treated with more civility at Engelhaftzell, is, because it is a frontier town, and there are no troops quartered there, on account of the fear there is of desertion; so the civil officers are obliged to give good words: but here, when the air resounds with the strokes of the corporal's stick, every look of the lowest servant must be considered as a command.

mand. Brother, in what regards politeness and humanity, a Frenchman has a right to be proud. — This is no prejudice. In the other nations of Europe, civility is confined within the very small circle of the higher orders ; but we must do our common people the honour, to allow that it is by no means so with us. As for the boasted freedom of speech of some of our neighbours, it is often no more than a ferocity, and wildness of manner, produced by a very bad education.

Our boat was built after the model of Noah's ark ; it had no windows to it, was decked all over, and the men, beasts, merchandize, and vermin, were packed up together in it without any distinction. The quarter-deck supplied the place of a cabin.

A high pile of chests of sugar formed the inner wall of this, and on one side of it there was a little opening left, which they called a window, but through which there hardly came light enough to shew that it was day. There was another opening made on the side of the fore-deck length-ways, about the middle of the vessel, not large enough to let a dove fly in with an olive branch. Through this, with very imminent danger of life, we were obliged to do our necessities.

As there was no outlet to these *cloacs*, nor any cabin boys on board to clean them, you may conceive what balsamic exhalations every now and then filled the boat, especially as it happened to be uncommonly full of passengers. I lay for the greatest part of the time stretched out on the roof of this ark, but was forced to cling very close to the edge of it, that I might not be plunged into the water, by the least motion arising from the change of the rudder, or by running on ground. It is, I assure you, no small exercise to secure the feet properly in these expeditions. The beautiful prospect I enjoyed made the journey tolerable. From Passaw hither, the banks of the Danube are covered with the hills which surround the plains of Austria.———These hills stand in general so near each other, that it is only in a very few places that you can call the space between them a plain; in many places they hang over the river like broken walls. Notwithstanding this, the shores are well inhabited and wonderfully cultivated. It is true, that between Lintz and this place, which are distant from each other twenty-eight German miles, you meet with no great cities, but there are many small ones, and a great number of villages and meadows, all which shew that the inhabitants are much at their ease.

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What afforded me the greatest pleasure was the winding of the river; sometimes we coasted along vallies encompassed with hills, the slopes of which were gentle enough to admit of cultivation to the very top. The fore-ground of the beautiful perspective exhibited either a well cultivated village or a large meadow, the white of which contrasted, singularly, with the dark groves of the broken mountain behind.—And now the boat comes nearer and nearer to this place, which shuts in the whole prospect, and seems to swim upon the water; now we are only a hundred paces distant from it, without being able to discover on what side the stream will wind out of the vale. We fear to run aground on the walls of a town, or to put into the streets of a village, when at once a prospect of a quite different kind opens to our right; the river turns by a sharp corner out of the clear vale, into a narrow, wild, obscure glen. This is like being carried at once out of mid-day into the darkest night; for the perpendicular high hills and groves on each side do not suffer the day to break through. But the back-ground is covered by a thick darkness, which hardly allows of distinguishing the tops of the high hills from the deep blue of the sky. The fore-ground is filled with a dark-grey, which agrees wonderfully with the colour and figure of the hills and woods. No noise breaks the still-

ness which reigns in this solitary vale, save the far-sounding stroke of a wood-cutter in a neighbouring wood, or the song of some bird. And now we are approaching the end of this frightful prospect, and expect to be restored to day through some subterraneous passage, but the scenery grows darker and darker, and the way we are to get out appears more and more a riddle to us: with anxious looks we seek for an opening in the rocks, by which we are imprisoned on all sides;—when lo! as if by a stroke of a fairy's wand, there opens a cheerful landscape on the left, to the sight of which we are introduced through a narrow gulf. Our ravished eyes now wander over the beautiful hills, the various woods, the numberless villages, the castles and country houses, the vineyards and gardens, which during a long tract are reflected by the river. In this manner the prospect is always changing, the variety being such as leaves you more to expect in every change, and always gives more than it had promised.

I had two adventures on board of this conveyance, which turned out like the famous wind-mill business of the renowned Don Quixote. I am almost ashamed to give an account of them. In my way here, through Ulm and the other cities, I heard so much of the danger of passing the fall and whirlpool of the Danube, that I had

had thought of throwing you and Nannette into no small terrors, by the description of the perils I had undergone. But you may now be at rest, my dear children, though I should have this Scylla and Charibdis to encounter a hundred times. The fall is a spot in which the river, having been confined for a time betwixt two high hills, breaks with an impetuous noise over a wall of rocks, which meet it directly in its course. This sounds very terrible; but towards the right side of the river, the stream has worn these rocks so much, that even at this time, when the water is lower than ever it was known to be in the memory of man, the largest vessel may sail over, without being exposed to any danger. Possibly, some hundred years ago, there might have been some risk, and this may have made this place so famous in all the southern parts of Germany, and in all the relations of voyage writers and geographers; but at present there is a great noise about nothing, and the incessant flowing of the stream will soon do away even the name of this frightful place. The country about the fall is wild and romantic to a degree. A broken rock, in appearance like a square tower, stands about twenty paces from the shore, in the midst of the roaring flood. The common passage is betwixt this rock and the shore. They have erected a cross on this natural castle, to which the travel-

lers address their prayers: it makes a very picturesque appearance amidst the wild briars that surround it.—Upon the whole, I was much more amused with the beauties of the country, than frightened with the danger of the place.

We left the whirlpool*, which is met with soon after the fall, about twelve to fifteen paces on the right, without being affected by any of its undulations. Commonly there is room for more vessels than one to pass betwixt it and the shore without any danger: so that when the master carries his passengers through it, it is only done to impress them with needless terrors. When the water is deepest and strongest, it cannot suck in a vessel carrying a moderate burthen; but is only dangerous to the small craft which obstinately persist in going through it. As far as I could see, it is not above twenty feet in circumference.—To sum up all, neither of these places are as dangerous as many parts of the Moselle, the Maese, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Rhine, which yet are commonly passed by without any apprehensions.

A great variety of circumstances concur to excite an idea of danger in both these parts of the Danube. Low mechanics are fond of speak-

* The German words are, Wirbel and Strindel. They probably mean one and the same thing.

ing of them, and magnifying the danger, that they may increase their own importance in having gone through it. Others, more simple, who come to the place with strong conceits of what they are to meet with there, are so struck with the wildness of the prospect, and the roaring of the water, that they begin to quake and tremble before they have seen any thing;—but the masters of vessels are those who most effectually keep up the imposition. They make the passages a pretence for raising the price of the freight, and when you are past them, the steersman goes round with his hat in his hand to collect money from the passengers, as a reward for having conducted them safely through such perilous spots. When our master (who yet very well knew how much it was for his interest to keep up the credit of his monsters) saw how little attention I paid to them, he assured me, in confidence, that during the twenty years he had sailed on the Danube, he had not heard of a single accident. There is infinitely more danger from the many wooden bridges which the vessels must necessarily pass through. The arches of these are, for the most part, so close to each other, that there is hardly room enough for a large vessel to pass betwixt them. The common passage-boat, which has travellers and valuable wares on board, has nothing to fear, both because the sides

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of these vessels are so high, that they cannot easily ship water; and because the people belonging to the vessel, and who are to answer for the goods, take care that they shall not be exposed to danger; but from the inn at Stein, where we stopped to take a view of the cloister of Molk, and the country round about us, we saw three ships laden with wood sink under the bridge. The few sailors which were on board jumped into a wherry, and endeavoured to take in as much of the wood, with which the Danube is covered on every part, as they could. The sides of these ships are hardly more than a few inches higher than the surface of the river, and the least jostle they meet with makes them ship water enough to sink them.

The gatherers of wood are miserable people, who can get nothing by any handicraft. Their wretched ships are of no value, and in case of accidents, the men always save themselves on board the small boats which they have in tow for the purpose—Most of the miscarriages are to be ascribed to their wantonness.

Throughout the whole of this journey, we met with very good and very cheap inns. There are no men waiters in these parts, but their duty is done by young women, who seem ready for more services than one.—There reigns throughout

out an excessive cleanliness, and a high degree of ease and prosperity.

Paris by no means strikes the eye so magnificently as Vienna does, when you approach the latter by the river. At a distance of a few miles you first discover the high tower of St. Stephens, in a narrow vale, through which the stream winds. The windings of the vale soon remove the tower from the eyes of the traveller, who still looks eagerly for the place where the immense pyramid, now vanished, pointed out to him the habitation of the Cæsars. Soon after, high hills covered with vineyards close up this vale, when to the left there opens an immense plain, in which, by degrees, the traveller discovers a part of the city: the right is covered with hills, partly wooded, and partly cultivated, which come down to the river. The magnificence of this beautiful spot is much improved by the royal cloister of Neuburg. At length you come to a strait rock, which hangs almost down upon the flood below. On the top of this there is a cloister, and at the bottom the beautiful village of Rusdorff, which you almost take for one of the suburbs of Vienna. When once you have passed the rock, the capital occupies the whole horizon. Its several parts commend themselves the more to the eye, from their being at great distances from each other, and many of them situated on high eminences.

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The number of large buildings, the noise that broke upon my ears from all sides, and the forest, as it were, of houses, made my heart beat, notwithstanding all the pains I could take to think of Horace's *Nil Admirari*.

When we landed, my trunks underwent another search by the custom-house officers. This passed over without any disagreeable circumstances, as they did not take the trouble to inspect my pockets, which I had filled with forbidden books.—The journey from Lintz hither lasted six days, though it is commonly performed in two. The reason assigned by the sailors was the usual one, of contrary winds; but I knew the true cause to be, the contraband goods they had on board. The journey from Ratisbon hither costs two ducats; one of which pays your passage, and the other your provisions, which consist of fresh fish, salt meat, and some vegetables. When the weather is fine, you may sleep on board without inconvenience. Cheap, however, as this journey of fifty-six German miles seems to be at first sight, I did not find my account in it; the frequent and long stoppages of the ship obliging me to live much on shore, and to spend my time and money at inns.

The best way, when you are fortunate enough to meet with company at Ulm or Ratisbon, is to purchase a small decked vessel, which you may have

have for sixty or seventy guilders, and which will hold fifteen or sixteen people. The vessel may be sold again at Vienna, often with profit, and you perform your journey in four, five, or at most six days; whereas a common vessel is fourteen, and often sixteen days in going the journey. Three or four sailors, and a good steersman, will think themselves sufficiently paid for their trouble, if, when you come to your journey's end, you give them the vessel.

L E T T E R XIX.

YOU have no idea, dear brother, of the trouble I had to provide myself with a proper habitation. I ran about the city three whole days with my *laquais de place*, before I could get housed. It is not here as at Paris, where there is an office in every part of the city, giving an account of what houses or lodgings are to be let, and for what price. Here every owner of a house puts up a bill before his door, stating very circumstantially what rooms he has empty. As the houses consist of five or six stories, and each story has an owner, who may have a room or an apartment vacant, you often find the doors of the houses plastered
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all over with advertisements, and may be near half an hour reading, before you get the information you want to arrive at.

The first room I saw was up four pair of stairs. The looks of it did not displease me; but as soon as I heard that the owner was a *Gnadige Herr*, I said, in French, to my laquais, “ Away, I will “ have nothing to do with a *gnadige herr*, who “ has half of his hired habitation to underlet.”— The next house I went into, I mounted up six pair of stairs. When I was got to the top, there came out of a lower apartment a little diminutive man, in a night gown; he had a pen sticking behind his ear, and was followed by a maid, who gave him the appellation of *your honour*. Only *your honour*, thought I to myself, this may do. I went into the rooms, and was half induced, by the pure air I breathed in these upper regions, to close the agreement when it came into my head to open a window, and look what sort of prospect I should have. I could discover nothing but roofs of houses and chimneys, which entirely took away all view of the city.—“ Away,” said I.—So we saw six apartments that day, without finding any thing that would suit. Amongst other landlords, we came to an *Excellence*, or rather to a *Magnificence*, (for I had choice of titles) who lived in the back part of a ground floor,

floor, and with whom I did not choose to partake of the foul air he breathed. The next day's operation opened with a *gnadige frau*. She recommended her *fraeleii tochter* to me for so many things, that it was impossible to think of coming to an agreement with her. "Look here," says she, *my daughter herself* will bring you your coffee in the morning; if you choose any tea in an afternoon, *my daughter herself* will wait upon you with it; if you choose to treat us now and then to a play, and are too late for your *traiteur*, our cold supper will be at your service, and so on!"—Thou must know, it is not in Germany as with us at Paris; a woman of honour looks upon it as an affront to be offered to be treated to a public place, by a person who is not a relation, or a particular friend. Here it is the custom to frank women wherever you go with them.—I soon saw that the pretty girl's services were included in the price of the room; so away I went again.—Having again tired myself with searching this day, I began to think that I should not find what I wanted in the city itself, as all the lodgings which have any free air or prospect are infinitely dearer than at Paris. This cannot well be otherwise, as a third part of the inhabitants dwell within the walls of the city, which do not comprehend above one sixth of the ground it stands upon. As the suburbs are at some distance from
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the city, their extensiveness makes it a desirable object for every one, to live nearer the center of business. The suburbs of Paris are as well inhabited as the city itself. But at Vienna we meet with a great deal of waste ground. Another reason of the high price of the best houses in the city, is, that the second story of every house belongs to the court, and is tenanted by its servants. You pay from six to eight guilders (about eighteen shillings) a month for one of the best rooms in a good street, and about three for one of the worst. —In the suburb of Mariahef, which is the most wholesome situation in the place, after some trouble, I found a very handsome room, which commands a fine prospect, for three guilders a month.

I cannot go from hence to town, without a great deal of trouble. In Paris you are forced to walk up to your ankles in mud; here, on the other hand, you cannot stir out, without being choaked with the dust. Vienna lies open to the drying East and North winds, but is protected by its neighbouring hills from the South and West, which keeps Paris in almost perpetual rains. When it has rained here a whole night, all is dry again a few hours after sun-rise, and by noon the clouds of dust begin to rise. Indeed, when it rains more than a day, the dust makes the mud exceed-

exceedingly deep. When I would go to town, I must cross the wide and naked plain which parts us, which I am obliged to do, with my handkerchief to my mouth, in order not to be choaked with dust. The hackney coaches of this place are always in a trot or a gallop, and as the way to *Shombrun* lies by my windows, it requires some good luck, as well as some care, to go through the clouds of dust, without being run over by a hackney coach, or without running aground of some other traveller.

In case of a siege, the distance betwixt the town and suburbs would give the besiegers great advantages; but it is very unlikely that such a circumstance should ever happen. The Turks have been the only people, in modern times, who could carry their wars to the gates of the capital, a thing which the King of Prussia did not dare attempt, after the most successful battle. At present the strength of the imperial house is so superior to that of the Porte, that I believe the present court keeps up the fortifications, only with the view of keeping the city itself in subjection. Another reason, indeed, may be assigned, which is the ruin that would fall upon several families, who subsist entirely by letting their houses, if the value of them was to sink one half, which it would certainly do, if the emp-
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ty space before the city was to be built upon. As things now are, there are several habitations worth from 2 to 300,000 guilders, or from 20 to 30,000 pounds per annum, which constitutes the whole fortune of their possessors. Any man who is out of debt, and has a house in this city, is accounted a rich man. The house of the bookseller Trattnem is an object of 30,000 guilders (or 3000*l.* a year) to him. The advantages that would accrue, in point of health and convenience, by carrying the city on to the suburbs, and by that means thinning the choaked up habitations, would not make amends for what those who have houses must unavoidably suffer by the change.

Within these few days I have begun my usual circle in and about the city, in order to be able to form to myself an idea of its separate parts. It takes up almost two hours to go from the end of the suburb of Wieden to the end of the suburb of Leopold, which is larger than the town, and parted from it only by a small arm of the Danube. The going from the suburb Rossau to the end of the suburb Landstrasse, took me up about another half hour. Vienna certainly stands upon much more ground than Paris does. It has twenty-six suburbs; but many parts of them are not built upon, and about a third of them is occupied by three or four hundred gardens,

dens, not above three or four of which are worth seeing. The suburbs best inhabited are the Rossau, the Josephstadt, St. Ulrich, Mariahilf, a part of the Wieden, and the Leopoldstadt. The largest of them all, after the Leopoldstadt, is the Wieden, the inhabitants of which have a great resemblance to those of the suburb St. Marcel at Paris.

There are scarce eight buildings in the whole town which can be called beautiful or magnificent. The most distinguished of these are the palace of Lichtenstein, the Emperor's library, and the chancery.

The Emperor's palace is an old black building, that has neither beauty nor stateliness. It is a great mass of stone, which was built seven stories high, in order to contain as many inhabitants as possible. There are hardly three squares, or places here which make any figure at all. The greatest thoroughfare is from the Emperor's palace over the *Coal-market*, the *Graben*, the *Stockameisenplatz*, and through the *Carntnerstrasse*. In all these places, particularly in the narrow and irregular *Stockameisenplatz*, the thoroughfare is as great, and the motion as lively, as in any street of London or Paris. The stream of this great concourse reaches as far as Leopoldsgate, and throughout the whole of the high street of the suburb of Leopold.—There are not
more

more than eight buildings worth looking at in the suburbs; and the taste of the buildings about the gardens, and the summer-houses, is miserable.

According to the common report of those from whom one has a right to expect accurate accounts of their native country, the population of Vienna amounts to at least a million. Busching, in his geography, will hardly allow it to pass 200,000. In my opinion, the public and the geographer are equally mistaken. In the last year, which was not remarkably fatal, according to the bills of mortality, the number of the dead amounted to 10,000, that is about half the number of those who die at Paris. Now if you make allowance for strangers, of whose deaths you can have no accurate account, and multiply the sum by 36, you will have the true account of the population.

I was assured by a man of consequence, who was in the way of getting at good information, that a very little time ago, the population was estimated at 385,000, strangers included. This reckoning will appear accurate; for we must consider that the air and water are much better here than they are at Paris, where the numbers are allowed to be 700,000, of whom 21,000 die every year. Doubtless, Vienna has as many inhabitants in it as Naples; and those two towns are the most populous in the world, after Constanti-
nople,

nople, London, and Paris.—Whoever is a little acquainted with other large cities will see, in a moment, that Vienna must contain above 200,000 people.

I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with the manners, customs, and amusements of the inhabitants of this place, to be able to give you any certain information about them. All I can say is, that to judge by external appearances, the great appear uncommonly fond of magnificence. I was shewn the Prince of Lichtenstein, mounted on a very fine horse, and attended by at least eight persons, some of whom were dressed like hussars, and seemed to be a kind of body guard. He is supposed to be like the Emperor, in manners, gestures, and face; and some think that he attempts to copy him in externals. As to my part, I own, that in the glimpse I had of them both, I could not discover the resemblance; and there is one thing in which they certainly differ; for the Emperor undoubtedly does not like to go out with so numerous a train of followers. I saw him taking the air: he was in a *cabriolet*, and had a single footman behind him. He affects simplicity and popularity almost in the extreme.

In the short time I have been here, I have seen more splendid equipages and horses than there are in all Paris. Our fashions prevail here

universally. Dressed dolls are regularly sent from Paris, for the purpose of teaching the women how to put on their gowns and dress their heads. Even the men, from time to time, get *memoranda* from Paris, and lay them before their taylor and hair-dressers. I heard a lady telling another yesterday at the play, with an air of the profoundest wisdom, that the Queen of France had worn the same kind of head-dress as she had then on, four weeks ago at the *theatre*. All the women I have hitherto seen are painted up to the eyes and ears, like the French ones. The knowing ones tell you, that the eyes acquire a kind of fire by this means, which gives an inexpressible animation to the whole look: but I believe I have often told you and Nannette, that I am barbarian enough to wish to wipe away all the red off a lady's cheeks with a wisp of straw and coarse sand, even though the eyes should lose all their lustre by it. After all, the rouge of the ladies here, like that of our Parisian dames, seems to have become a necessary evil, to hide the yellowness of their skin. I saw several of them who had every reason to cry out, *La verole, mon Dieu, m'a rougé jusqu'aux os.*

L E T T E R XX.

Vienna.

OUR new philosophers are unanimous in declaring against large societies; as for my own part, I take things as they are, and am contented with what I find, whenever an alteration appears dangerous or impossible. It is very true, that when you look on the dark side of them only, great cities seem a disgrace to humanity; but put one of these philosophers to the proof, and let him tell you how London, Paris, or Vienna, are to be made less without shaking the whole state, and rendering a large portion of the present inhabitants unhappy.

Wherever there is much light, there will of course be a great deal of shade. Take them all together, there is more good than bad amongst mankind; though, therefore, you should allow the wickedness of individuals to be more visible in large cities, than it is in the scattered cottages of the inhabitants of the forest, mountain, or desert; it is plainly owing to the following reasons, viz. Because the natural propensities of the two-legged wild beasts, have more opportunities of shewing themselves without disguise here;

because we can see the wickedness of so many that are drawn together; as it were to a point, and in cottages it escapes us; because this very contrast is rendered more striking from the attention which the police, who has no power to reward the good, is compelled to pay to the punishment of the wicked. Our philosophers who declaim on this head, have more spleen than good humour about them, and had rather see black than white; but the greatest part of them are so little in earnest in their declamations, that even the very serious John James of Geneva preferred living at Paris, to living with those very Savoyards and inhabitants of the Valais, in whose praises he was so full.

It has been said of London, that you may see heaven and hell there at once. This, with a little allowance for the difference, which the strongly pronounced character of the Englishman gives to all he does, is true, I believe, of every large city in the world. But, on the other hand, the newspapers, which are every day published in these cities, exhibit instances of virtue in all ranks of life, which the half savage has no idea of.—The good there is about man discovers itself in great cities as much as the bad, and ought to be respected by every true friend to humanity, in a much greater degree than the virtues of savage life, for as much as it is not the working of a sense-

fenfelefs inſtinct, but the reſult of a greater degree of knowledge and more lively feelings.—Conceive to yourſelf the ſublime anſwer of a mechanic of the ſuburb of St. Marcel at Paris, to a monk who comforted him on his death bed, by telling him that he muſt of courſe be glad to go out of this world of tribulation. “ Good father,” ſaid the dying man, “ no ſins moleſt my conſcience, my days have glided away ſoftly, and in uninterrupted pleaſures, and the world has been no place of tribulation to me. I reſign myſelf willingly to the appointment of Providence, and die without a ſigh ; but, had it pleaſed the Creator to increaſe the number of my days, I truſt that my trade——” Think of the young man who maintained his family for ſome time with his blood, which he ſold to a ſurgeon who wanted to make experiments with it. Recollect the young woman of St. Jaques at Paris, who ſtood firm againſt every offer of ſeduction, and maintained herſelf, mother, and little ſiſters, by occupations ſo laborious, that they deſtroyed her beauty and impaired her conſtitution. Theſe, and a thouſand more ſuch caſes, which the hiſtory of Paris furniſhes us with, will teach you, that in large ſocieties men excel in virtue as much as they do in vice, and that all the ſtories of the natural place of man, and the advantages to be found in it, for the purpoſes of

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happinefs and virtue, are, for the moft part, only the beauteous dream of abftract reaſoners. For my own part, brother, I have found the man of the woods, whenever occaſion was given for it, full as wicked as the inhabitants of the moſt peopled towns and cities. The propenſity, indeed, to oppreſs and cheat his neighbour, cannot be ſo viſibly diſcovered in the former as in the latter, becauſe the neighbour, and he, do not often come into ſuch ſtrong collision; but when the latter is good, he is ſo in a much higher degree than the half ſavage.

It is ſaid, that certain modes of education, certain cuſtoms, and a bad government, bow down to their yoke thoſe who live with more ſimplicity. But all the half ſavages we are acquainted with (and as to the whole ones, we ſhall know nothing certain of them, till the country beyond the moon ſhall be diſcovered) are alſo under the influence of cuſtom, education, and government. On the other hand, it muſt be obſerved, that the inhabitant of numerous ſocieties is more eaſily poliſhed, and, when he grows wicked, more eaſily converted, than the half ſavage, who ſets his life on his cuſtoms and manners. Even at this time the moſt enamoured partiſans of the Swiſs find only in ſome ſcattered parts of Savoy, the reliques of the manners they ſo much admire, and theſe,

these, they must confess, will be done away in the next generation whilst, on the other hand, the corruption to be found among the inhabitants of the Grisons, and some of the Democratic Cantons, surpasses every idea, which a man not acquainted with the place can form of it, with this additional cause for despair, that the evil is here remediless; whereas the inhabitants of Paris, London, and Vienna, may grow better in some generation.

I found it necessary to make these introductory remarks, because, though I was not capable to say as much good of the people of Vienna at present as I could wish, I was willing you should be convinced that I am in perfect friendship with them, and do not mean to advise them to separate and live behind the hedges like gypsies, in order to make their situation better, by approaching nearer to the state of nature. In every part of the world I meet men towards whom my heart warms, and have no necessity to wander with our knights errant among the vales of Piedmont, Savoy, and Switzerland, in order to find fellow-creatures to be proud of. I do not know whether these gentlemen meet with what they are in search of, but it is certain, that they all come back again very soon.

What distinguishes the people of this place from the Parisians is a certain coarse pride not to be described, an insurmountable heaviness and stupidity, and an unaccountable propensity to guzzling. The hospitality of the table, about which you have heard so much, is only an effect of pride. During the four weeks I have been here, I have hardly been able to dine above four times by myself. It is the custom when a man is first introduced into a new house, to fix a day in every week for him to be a regular guest there. In the first house I dined, I conceived that the people had a real pleasure in seeing me; but I had not sat long before I had invitations enough, from the company present only, to last me a month. But when they ask you, they all do it with such faces which seems to say, 'Is not 'it true that we are far more hospitable than 'your Parisian gentry?' Sometimes they go still farther, and make themselves very merry (that is, according to the Vienna mode of being merry) with our sparing niggardliness. It is certainly true, that a man eats much better here than he does at Paris; and he certainly also eats a great deal more. At the common tables of the people of a middling rank (such as the lower servants of the court, merchants, artists, and the better kinds of mechanics), you commonly see six, eight, or even ten dishes, with two, three, or

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even four kinds of wine. They commonly sit two hours at table, and they took it as a very uncivil thing of me that I refused to taste many dishes, though I was compelled to do so, to save myself an indigestion. But, alas! so soon as the body is satisfied here, so soon does the mind long for the friendly *dinés* and *soupés* of Paris, which you know are more intended for the feast of reason, and the flow of soul, than the dainty pursuit of indigestions, choleras, and apoplexy. Here the only entertainment, mingled with the very serious business going forward, are some very bad low jokes. At the best tables here, (I mean those of the second order) you commonly meet a monk, but more commonly a player, whose very refined wit enlivens the whole company. The monk is commonly seated by the lady of the house, whom he coquets with; the player is seated at the other end, and laughs at him till the whole route breaks out into shouts of laughter, far above the capacity of common lungs or ears either to join in or bear. When the conversation takes a more serious turn, it is always about the theatre, which is the utmost length to which criticism or observation ever extend in this country; but the players are far from being the company here, that they are at Paris. None of those with whom I am hitherto acquainted know their mother tongue. At Paris, undoubtedly,

edly, we should not admit into good company, men who neither by their wit or their manners can raise themselves at all above the lowest of the vulgar.

Upon the whole, you meet here with none of the briskness, the spirited pleasure, the unconstrained satisfaction, and the interesting curiosity about what is going forwards, that you find at Paris, even amongst the lowest orders of society. No body here makes remarks upon the ministers or the court ; no body entertains the company with the novelty or anecdote of the day. You meet with numberless people of the middling ranks who have nothing to say of their ministers, their generals, and philosophers, and who hardly know even their names. Nothing is taken care of but the *animal* part. They breakfast till they dine, and they dine till they sup, with only the interval of, perhaps, a short walk and going to the play. If you go into a coffee-house, of which there are about seventy, or into a beer-house, which are the most elegant and best furnished of all the public houses, (I saw one with red damask tapestry, pictures with gilt frames, looking-glasses, clocks a-la-Grecque, and marble tables) you will see nothing but a perpetual motion of jaws. One thing you may rest assured of, that no one will come up to you or be troublesome with questions ; no man there talks at all, except with
his

his neighbour, and then he most commonly whispers. You would conceive you were in a Venetian coffee-house, where they all take one another for spies. When I say all this, I desire to be understood as speaking of the *middling ranks* only, who in all countries are what properly may be called the people, for as to the *people of rank*, they, with a few shades only of distinction, are the same throughout all Europe; and the *lowest classes* hardly mix with society. No doubt, a gentleman introduced, as Dr. Moore happened to be, would meet with many an Aspasia capable of being classed in the same line with her immortal prototype (that is, the vicious part of the character excepted); an Aspasia whose circles are constantly filled by the wisest philosophers, the deepest statesmen, the greatest generals, the wisest, mildest, and most affable of princes; but it is not in assemblies of this kind that the *characters* and *manners* of a nation are to be met with.

The sociableness, good taste and polished manners, which render the present court so remarkable, are a consequence of the travelled education of the present Emperor. His father, indeed, had relaxed something of the *Sultan* manner in his court; but Joseph is the first of his house who has considered himself as a man born for

for all mankind. Formerly one of the old nobility considered it as a disgrace if a common citizen even did but look at him; and the lesser, or second order of noblesse, were excluded the court, as is the practice in Spain. There are instances of persons, even of the rank of field-marschals, who could not gain admittance. The whole train of science was banished under the notion of pedantry, and the arts, ever tasteless without it, were employed only to dress up harlequins. The Emperor Leopold, indeed, had some taste for music: but conceive to yourself this prince (a cotemporary of Lewis XIV. at a time when the arts were in all their glory with us), with his imperial crown on his imperial shoulders, looking out of his palace window to see a set of the lowest buffoons that ever disgraced a stage with their tricks, sing and dance in the court of the palace. Prince Eugene was the first who ever introduced any thing of a taste into the country; the first who inspired a general love for French literature: he lived in the strictest friendship with the wits and artists of his day, and was the same here for the arts, that he had been in the imperial army, where he had had as much to encounter with from folly and superstition, as from the largest hosts of the enemy. The monks, particularly the jesuits, resisted his
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benign influence as long as they could. In Charles the VIth's time no kind of literature was held in esteem, except that which related to merchandize and finance. A few days ago there fell into my hands a book, which, without a doubt, is the best publication of those dull times; it treats of finance, and, though written in most barbarous German, lays down the best principles of this science. These, however, no king has followed but the King of Prussia, who has availed himself of them, to the no slight detriment of the country in which the book was written. The author's name was *Schroeder*; he was in the Emperor's service. Every thing, however, except finance, was in utter darkness, and even the sermons were farces. Towards the end of the last reign, things began to be upon a better footing; but the Empress, who, with all her excellencies, has a weak side, which is that of wanting to make all her subjects angels, sees every improvement that is proposed, only as it regards her religion; besides this, she has a little of the Spanish etiquette left about her, and loves old unpolluted nobility.

Notwithstanding the care the empress takes of the morality of her subjects, all the charities depend upon the court alone for their support. We meet here with no *curé of St. Sulpice* to raise

300,000 livres a year for the relief of the necessitous. The Archbishop Migazzi is as bigotted and as dependant on the papal hierarchy as our Beaumont, but he gives no million of livres yearly out of his income to secret distrefs, as the good Archbishop of Paris does. I question whether it would be possible, upon any occasion, to get a collection of 10000 guilders from hence. Though Vienna has several houses in it with which the most opulent in Paris cannot be compared, pride, gallantry, and dissipation, are all the feelings the people of this place are susceptible of. Though most of the richest people have been for years oppressed with debts, they have not yet learned to confine their expences, and would think it a shame to live within bounds. As to the middling orders, they live from hand to mouth, and are well satisfied if they can make the two ends of the year meet. Economy is a term entirely banished from the place. Every thing swills and lives for the pleasure of sense only.

L E T T E R XXI.

Vienna.

THE police of this place is entirely taken up with the object of suppressing every thing that indicates vigour and manly strength; that, however, is not the best police, whose only object is to make every member of society as secure as possible, but that which knows how to give the greatest security to the whole, and at the same time encroaches as little as possible upon the freedom of individuals. It is certain, that setting watches about every citizen's house to take an account of what is going forward at his table and in his bed, and to follow the several members of his family wherever they go, you may guard effectually against disorder; but who is there that exists on earth, and loves the order that is kept up amongst galley-slaves?

The wise creator, whose government ought to be the model of every wise legislature, left us that free will which we so often abuse. He gave us strong incitements to good, without taking away the power of doing evil. In this liberty, notwithstanding the mischiefs which arise from it, consists the true greatness of man. Religion teaches

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us, that in his own good time God will punish the wicked and reward the good. Without the freedom to do ill, we should have neither moral feelings nor moral happiness, and God would not be righteous towards us.

We cannot follow a better model of legislation and police, than what is set us by the Creator. As it is the business of legislation to punish the wicked without partiality, and reward the good with a liberal hand; so the police, which is subordinate to it, ought to have no other object than to give it the means of rewarding virtue and punishing vice. To go farther than this, and endeavour to make moral evil physically impossible, is an offence both against God and man.

Human justice knows of no evils but those which spring from offences which are hurtful to society; she and her handmaid the police have no right to turn a tribunal of justice into a tribunal of confession, nor imperiously to extend their power to the internal morals of a man. Even if the generality of mankind had much more worth of character, and much greater moral feelings than they have, yet ought there not to be such an inquisition as subsists in this place, by the establishment of the consistorial, police and other courts.

Probably

Probably Vienna is the only city in the world which has a court called a special commission of chastity. A few years ago the spies of this extraordinary tribunal used to follow the young people into their houses; not only so, they used to break into their bedchambers and visit their beds in the middle of the night. The horror which this raised in society was so universal, that the Emperor found himself obliged to use all his influence with his mother (who promised herself great things from these exertions), to obtain some limitations of them. The spies of the police were in contract with the whores; these used to decoy the young men to their houses, and when they were together betray them. The young people had then nothing for it but to allow themselves to be plundered, in order to avoid being carried before the commission of chastity, and the spies and the whores divided the booty between them. The evil is now in some degree corrected, by the interposition of the Emperor, but the public walk called the *Prater* is still surrounded by tenanted spies, who trace the young men to trees and bushes, in order to prevent offences that are only possible, and have not actually been given.

It is the opinion here, that the best way of preventing fornication and child-murder, and of increasing population, is to compel a man who has a

child sworn to him to marry the woman immediately. I was told a curious story on this subject. A young man was summoned before the consistory, to make answer to a young woman who claimed him for a husband. As he was in the outer chamber waiting for her, he saw another poor young woman who was come there on a like errand. Having made himself acquainted with all the circumstances of her case, and finding that the supposed father of her child was fled, and not likely to appear, he offered her a good sum, if she would take him in the stead, and date her complaint prior to the time of that which he expected to be brought against him. She promised him that she would so, and he went to the judges, full of confidence in the success of his project. The court having asked him whether he had slept with the person before him, and he having confessed, he was told that he was a father, and must give the woman his hand. To this he made answer, that he had no objection, but that there was a person in the anti-chamber, who had older claims upon him. Upon her being called in, it appeared visibly that she was further gone than the other. The first plaintiff was therefore ordered to content herself with a sum of gold, and go away. The young man now pleaded, that he had compounded matters with the other lady; but, to his inexpressible astonishment, she

she denied it. The judges then asked for witnesses, and he having none to produce, he was obliged to give his hand to one, whom he had seen a quarter of an hour before, for the first time in his life.

I know several men who have been made husbands of in this manner. Their wives, for a time, drove on a general trade quietly with their customers. When these began to fail, they picked one out of the number, whom they thought would make a good husband, and summoned him before the court. The proof of having slept together, even without any consequences having followed, was deemed sufficient to establish a claim. Some of these very honourable pairs are known by the whole town.

I know of another method to prevent whoring and child-murder, much more effectual than this is; but then unluckily it does not so well answer the other object which these legislators have in view, namely, the increase of population. Shakspeare is the author of the police I would propose. I do not remember in which of his plays it is that he makes a Vienna bawd say, "If the police will effectually banish fornication, it should castrate all the men."

These marriages by compulsion are attended with very pernicious consequences, both to society and the state. I do not know whether they

prevent fornication; but it is certain that they much increase adultery. Truth, confidence, and love, the most holy and most useful bands of society, they entirely dissolve. The man, who, from the circumstance of his having been compelled to give her his hand, is obliged to consider his wife as a whore cannot be her true friend, cannot have that respect for her which is absolutely requisite to make a happy marriage. It is indeed, astonishing how indifferent the married people of this place are to each other. I know that this is the case at Paris too; but there it arises from the manners, and not from the government, as it does here. Nor, indeed, are conjugal love and fidelity so extinct amongst persons of the middling rank in society at Paris, as they seem to be in this place. I believe, too, that even population, which this foolish law is intended to promote, suffers considerably by it; for it is an observation which has often been made, both by moralists and physicians, that, without love betwixt the parties, the marriage bed often proves barren. Most of the pairs I am acquainted with, who have been married by compulsion, are without children, and in general the marriage bed is not fruitful here.—The indifference of the parents for each other likewise extends to the children, amongst whom all the fine feelings of love and friendship are stifled in early infancy.

fancy. It is, no doubt, owing to this want of the affections of social and domestic life, that the people of this place have so few moral feelings as they have.

It is true, indeed, that every thing has its good as well as its weak side. The consequence of this people's want of spirit is, that their vices are as few and weak as their virtues. Nothing is heard here of the tragedies which are so frequent at London, Paris, Rome, and Naples. Pick-pockets, cheats, bankrupts, thieves spendrifts, pimps, and bawds, are the only criminals known in Vienna. The Austrian has not strength of character enough to be a highwayman; and a Saxon gentleman, who has been settled here some years, and has travelled over the whole country, assures me, that he does not remember to have heard of such a thing as a duel. I was witness to a scene yesterday which strongly marks the character both of the people and the police of this place. A well dressed man had a quarrel with a hackney coachman about his fare. They soon came to high words. One of the six hundred spies, who are divided about different parts of the city, came up. The gentleman grew warm and gave bad words, which the other returned with interest. At length they shook their fists at each other, but neither ventured to strike; for it seems there is a law, by which, whoever strikes

first

How many would you have?

first is punished, let the previous provocation have been what it will. Had either but touched the hat of the other, it would have been reckoned a blow, and he would have been immediately taken up by the watch. As it was, they parted, after affording a quarter of an hour's laugh to the populace. The duration of these frays may be longer or shorter, *ad libitum*; but there are few examples of their ever being carried farther than words.

The court has nothing to fear from a revolt. In the beginning of the last century, indeed, the protestants made a little stir; but all was soon quiet again. Indeed, the Viennois is too enervate for an insurrection. On the other hand, he feels nothing of them glow which fills the breast of a French or Englishman for the successes of his country. The several provinces of France have frequently made great presents to their kings in time of war, and we have often seen collections made in coffee-houses for building ships of the line. Here there are very few, if any, instances of this kind. Subordination is the only-characteristic feature of this people: nor have I ever seen a spark here either of the Englishman's love of liberty, or the Frenchman's feeling for the honour of the *grand monarch*. The pride even of the army is too personal, ever to admit of any sensibility for the honour of the state. The
songs

songs of the French soldier are, as you well know, poems which inspire and lead him on to glory, by reminding him of what his ancestors have done and suffered for their country; but here I seldom hear the soldier sing at all, and when he does, it is mere ribaldry. Not, however, that I doubt but that, in spite of their bad singing, an Austrian army would put a French one to the rout; but that is owing to another cause. I only discuss this *en passant*, and shall reserve myself to speak more fully to it, when I come to Berlin.

The individuals of a country which exist only by subordination, will of course be weak and feeble characters. It is true, that the most unlimited obedience did Sparta no harm; but the reason was, because it was not the reigning feature of the people, but only a means of securing the freedom after which the nation thirsted. The British laws are some of them very severe, and the discipline of their navy as strict as that of the Prussian army; but as these severities do not run through the whole of their government, they do not destroy the feelings of the people. Though no nation has so much checked the power of their kings at different periods as the British has done, yet the history of no nation affords more instances of the devotion of individuals to the sovereign.

The

The same love which the Englishman has for liberty extends to the person of the prince, whenever the prince leaves the constitution unimpaired, and manifests a love for it.—The upshot is, that the Briton will preserve strength of character as long as the constitution of his country lasts; whereas the subjects of despotic princes will be weak and grovelling in spirit.

The great, whose passion is the love of power, will of course consider strength of character in their subjects or dependants, as a natural enemy whom they must seek to subdue. Consequently their object will be to make the state to which they belong a machine in the strictest sense of the word, a machine of which their will is to be the only soul. Such machines at this day are even armies become, and it is a true remark, made by several writers both of these and other great machines of state, that the weaker every individual member is, the more durable and the stronger the whole will be. I know it, I confess it; all I desire is, not to be the member of such a *corps*. The government of this place endeavours to make some amends for the universal subjection under which the people are held, by a most exact administration of justice, by taking measures for universal security, and by the free admission and encouragement of every pleasure (the single one of lawless love alone excepted) that

that can delight the human mind. Whilst in France a country gentleman may be thrown in prison by a governor of a province, and continue there all his life, the lowest footman here, is assured of having the strictest justice done him, if he has occasion to complain of his lord, even though he were the lord high chamberlain. The police is so vigilant and acute, that the most subtle thefts are commonly discovered, and the owner gets his goods again. Almost all the Imperial houses and gardens are almost constantly open to the public. The players are under the peculiar protection of a court, who shews in every thing, that the restraint it lays the people under arises more from principle than the desire of tyrannizing over them. And yet, notwithstanding all this pleasure, and all this security, I had rather be exposed to a London footpad, or have the bottles and glasses whistle round my head on the last night of Vauxhall, than enjoy all the placid tranquillity of this place. These last are disorders, indeed, but they are disorders which are inseparable from a strong national character, such as is that of the people by whom they are committed.

L E T T E R XXII.

Vienna.

AS soon as the Emperor governs this country alone, a revolution will take place here, that will render the present inhabitants a phœnomenon to the next generation. He is a philosopher in the true sense of the word, although he does not, like Rodolph the Second, gaze at the stars with Tycho Brahe. He loves mankind, and is acquainted with their value. I know no public inscription that does a prince more honour, than that which is over the gate of the public garden here. “A place of pleasure for all men, prepared for them by their friend.” Joseph is a professed admirer of all that is called private virtue (*les vertus bourgeoises*), and his principles of government are as republican as those of most of the states who at this day call themselves republics. Hitherto, however, the different way of thinking of his mother has prevented much of his theory from being carried into practice.

The bright sides of this Empress's character are so striking, that one can hardly observe the darker ones. In private life, indeed, such small spots would appear not only venial, but in some degree

degree respectable; but it is the misfortune of greatness, that the smallest weakness of the governor has often a sensible influence on the happiness of the governed, so that the least personal vices are often the greatest political defects.

Whoever sees the Empress now, discovers that she has been a beauty. Within these few years she has begun to be subject to some of the infirmities of advancing age; but the best judges still discern a strong constitution and lively temperament in her. I saw her for the first time in the church of the Augustine Friars, where she was attending a religious ceremony, and immediately recognised her, not so much by her likeness to her pictures (from the truth of which age has of course taken a great deal), as by the air of majesty which strikes every one who has the honour to approach her. She has the strongest passions, but has never been subdued to the least unworthiness, by those to which nature in general the most inclines, and which her constitution the more particularly exposes her to. *Possibly* she is an *only, most certainly a singular* instance of a princess, over whom religion and honour have had more influence than the demands of an impetuous constitution, and the allurements of unlimited power. This probably arose from her having herself chosen her husband, who was the man of his day most likely to secure the affecti-

ons of a woman. To him she was passionately devoted; but her affections never wandered a step beyond the bounds of the strictest decorum. Vainly has scandal endeavoured to find out anecdotes to feed on in her life. Ten well made strong children yet living, are so many witnesses that her husband possessed all her love. At his death, she forbade herself all farther thoughts of the passion, and made a vow to lament him for ever; a vow to which she has religiously adhered. She is dressed in black, and wears no ornament of any kind. Who, that is acquainted with the history of Elizabeth, K——, and so many other sovereigns, can help being astonished when they read this?

Her warm love, however, made her husband pass many a weary hour. It was impossible for jealousy not to have great power over a heart, the violence of whose motions was only kept in by a sense of religion. It is not very certain whether she had ever real grounds for suspicion; but every body at Vienna remembers that a certain lady was obliged to leave it, because the Emperor, who was very courteous towards every body, but particularly so to the ladies, had made her some common-place, unmeaning compliments.

The Empress's benevolence, of which religion is the principle, approaches almost to profusion, She

She refuses relief to none of those who stand in need of her assistance; and the meanest of her subjects finds the way to make his distresses known to her. Her steward has hardly any thing to lay before her, but accounts of charities. Her liberality particularly shews itself towards widows, especially such as are of high birth. Many persons, amongst whom are widows of ministers of state, receive pensions of 6000 guilders (300*l.*) from her. Her partiality to high birth makes her desirous that every person should live up to his, or her rank. With respect to the public foundations of charity, she behaves as an Empress should do. The library, schools, hospitals, and poor-houses, cost her immense sums. I am assured, that the debts she has contracted by this liberality amount to upwards of twenty millions of guilders; and one of my friends informed me, that she gives away three millions per annum in private charity.

Who now would imagine that, under so worthy a character, merit often starves, whilst large sums are lavished upon the worthless? Who would imagine that the prejudices of religion could have so far gotten the better of her natural disposition, as to make her refuse assisting an officer who had been crippled in her service, unless he embraced the Roman Catholic religion? After several conversations with the priest sent to him

him by the Empress, this gentleman plainly perceived that he must turn scoundrel, to be relieved. He determined therefore to quit Vienna; which he did, and went to Holland, where he died a general officer. Since the present Emperor has begun to have an influence in business, merit has no longer any such oppression to fear, but it must still make use of all its weight to break through this species of obstacles, which however at all times are more the work of the priests, than of the Empress.

Her impetuous temper often breaks out into gross gusts of passion and anger; but as soon as the storm is past, she endeavours to make amends for the mischief or injury she may have done whilst it raged. I was told an anecdote, which if not entirely true, yet gives a great insight into this part of her character. An officer, who had a favour to ask, had his name written down in the list of those who wanted audiences. He waited a long time, till his turn (which is religiously observed) came to be introduced. At length he was called in, but he had hardly made his obedience to the Empress, according to the Spanish etiquette, when she broke out into such a storm of opprobrious abuse, as almost made him sink to the ground. Her vivacity made her eyes roll with fire, and the motion of her arms was rendered so quick by it, that the man was
afraid

afraid she might do a *little* execution upon him, with her own *high* hand. Twice, or thrice he attempted to put in a word, but the storm of the monarch's indignation was too strong to be controlled, and he was forced to wait till she was fairly out of breath. He then mustered up all his courage, and said, "Surely your majesty must have forgotten I am N. N." As soon as she found that she had been mistaken in the person, she made him a formal excuse, and her desire to set all things right again carried her so far another way, that she settled an handsome pension on him. She is by no means proof against pride, but is proud of the dignity, and the greatness of her house. She weeps tears of joy as often as she hears how her children, particularly the Emperor and the Queen of France are beloved by all the world. This family pride, joined to her quick feelings, are the cause why she considers all the princes who have been at war with her, at any time, as her personal enemies, and has never forgiven any of them. The Emperor's last wife, who was a Bavarian princess, had cause to regret her father's having attempted to rob the Empress of Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Imperial Crown. She made her *feel* the superiority of the house of Austria, over the house of Bavaria. —Thus far is true, but the fables which have

been

been raised on this foundation are too wild even to deserve a serious refutation.

Fame has not reported falsely of this great princess. She is a true woman, and it is by the amiable passions of her own sex that she is most distinguished. She was not at all offended at being told by the relation of another great sovereign, whom she was complimenting on the reputation of his friend, "May it please your majesty, my sister is still *only a woman*." All the tints in Theresa's character are the shades of a lively *female* character. She was the truest, but the most jealous of wives; the most affectionate, but at the same time the severest of mothers; the most friendly, but at the same time the most imperious mother-in-law.

Her character, however, has sometimes risen beyond the strength of man. The resolution with which she defended her hereditary dominions against so many powers united to oppress her, excited the astonishment of all Europe. Her love of justice is so great, that she immediately desists from any pretensions she has formed, which are not reconcileable with it, when she is shewn that they are not so. Though the King of Prussia knows that she bears him a grudge (which she will carry with her to her grave), he is so satisfied of the general rectitude of her princi-

principles, that whenever they have a dispute, his only care is to have his reasons properly stated to the Empress herself, by his ambassador. The nobility of Genoa, as I was informed by an officer who took a great part in the revolution of 1746, exclaimed with one voice, “O, if it
 “ were possible to bring our grievances before
 “ the Empress herself, we should be sure of ob-
 “ taining relief.” The cry of these Republicans at the time when they were most sorely oppressed by Austrian armies, was the finest praise that Theresa could have heard—but she heard it not.

Amidst the various species of knowledge she possesses, there is one which unluckily fails her, the knowledge of mankind. According to the custom of her house, she was bred up in an elevation which has not allowed of her seeing with her own eyes the necessities of ordinary life, and the true interest of the people she reigns over. Her whole education was so conducted as to make her the dupe of flatterers, who made her believe that nobles and priests were a superior order of men to laymen and common people. Priests and flatterers have at times betrayed her into actions which her heart would shudder at, if she could see them in their right light. An instance of this was given some years ago, when, in an insurrection of the Bohemian peasants, the Em-

peror endeavoured to obtain the abolition of the feudal tenures. This he did, because he knew the true situation of these poor slaves, who did not themselves know what they desired, but were only driven to what they did by hunger. There was indeed little to lay to their charge besides having hunted some barons out of bed; but the wives of the Bohemian nobles so far prevailed upon the Empress, with their tears, that soldiers were sent into the country, and many poor people were hanged as traitors, who were in fact only the victims of hunger. As this happened in the memorable year of scarcity over all Europe, when Bohemia, notwithstanding the natural riches of its agriculture, was reduced to the greatest necessity, and as the Emperor well knew that the principal cause of it was owing to the avarice of the great landlords, particularly of the priests, he endeavoured to take off the servitude of the lower orders; but his mother's attachment to the nobility prevented a measure, which would have made a country so favoured by nature as Bohemia is, one of the most flourishing in the world. The Empress made it a matter of conscience to deprive a small part of her subjects of the least part of their income by such a measure, but never bethought herself, that the nobility and priests consumed in idleness the sweat and blood of so many thousand people.

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A despotic prince, who has not a sufficient knowledge of the world, to see through the people who surrounded him, is the most dependent man in this country. Notwithstanding all her attention to so many various matters, and notwithstanding all her power, the good Empress cannot prevent herself from being cheated by all who approach her. She imagines that she prevents every sin by her establishments of chastity, and does not know how many adulteresses she makes by them. She would indeed be astonished, if she could see only a part of the horns, which the men of this place carry about with them under their perukes. It is said, that the Empress insults upon the young women, particularly those who are brought up in the *Theresianum*, tying their hair, &c. in a particular manner; but, notwithstanding these ribbands of chastity, I have been assured by a countess, who was brought up in this seminary, that grosser vices prevailed there, than any against which the commission of chastity is directed. I know a woman, who in order to get herself, and her handsome daughter a maintenance, procured the latter an engagement upon a small theatre, which hardly brings her in enough to buy pins for her hair. We know that at Paris the theatre is more a title to a maintenance than a maintenance of itself; but there is this difference be-

twixt the countries, here the mother carries her cheap daughter from a rehearsal to church, where both tell their beads with down-cast eyes, and the most pious looks, in order to bring themselves into a reputation of sanctity with the police. By this means, persons who love their pleasures, and yet wish to be well with the Empress, know no better way of compassing both these objects, than by visiting the churches. Another instance of hypocrisy. There is a well known man of letters here, *who translated a prayer-book* from the French, and dedicated it to the Empress as an original composition, with the view of obtaining a place together with the present customary upon those occasions. The plan succeeded; the Empress considered him as a pious man, and he had a reward; but he was so lost to shame, as to make sport of the good woman's credulity in the circle of his friends. The same thing takes place with regard to the prohibition of books. The queen would sink to the ground, if she could see one of the thousand private libraries in Vienna, which contain all the heretical, and all the scandalous writers which she conceives her college of censure, and her *Index Expurgatorius*, which is thicker than that of Rome, to have banished from the country for ever. So it is with several of her
other

other institutions, the inefficacy of which shews they are fit for nothing but to make hypocrites.

L E T T E R XIII.

Vienna.

IN order to have any idea of the government of this place, it is necessary to attend to the three contending parties of the state. The first and strongest is that of the Empress; it consists of the great personage herself, Cardinal Migazzi the archbishop, some monks, principally capuchines, and a few old ladies who make their court to the Empress by imitating her peculiarities. This party is always pregnant with commissions of chastity, prohibitions of books, driving away dangerous preachers and professors, increasing the papal power, and persecuting the new philosophy. Great part of the old nobility, whose prerogatives stand upon the same ground as those of the priesthood, adhere very strongly to this party.

The second party is that of the Emperor, and it is at perpetual war with the former. This party employs itself in the improvement of legislation, and the promotion of agriculture, trade, and industry

dustry of all kinds ; in the extension of philosophy and taste ; in curtailing the exorbitant pretensions of the nobles ; in the protection of the lower classes against the higher,—and in whatever can make gods of men. One of the principal persons of this party is Marshal Lacy, who carries on a most unremitting war against the monks, and their adherents. This able general acts here just as he did when he was opponent to the King of Prussia ; and the Emperor and he are always occupied in planning zig-zag marches, and counter-marches, and retreats ; so that General Migazzi, and his brown, black, white, half-black, half-white troops are often obliged to go into winter quarters, without having effected any slaughter at all. These two parties, who are open enemies, have, however, some intercourse with each other through the medium of a third, at the head of which is the celebrated Count Kaunitz.

Count Kaunitz, the greatest statesmen of our day, and a man who, by great services to the imperial house, has worked himself into the confidence both of the Empress and her son, is worthy to be the mediator between them. In his heart he is more favourable to the Emperor's party, than to that of his mother ; but he is obliged to appear a kind of middle-man, and to give

give his own philosophical operations that kind of religious cast without which they would not go down. He often covers the marches of the Emperor and his great field-marshal, by which means, as alert as Migazzi is, he is often forced to capitulate before he knows that the enemy is in the field. Kaunitz distinguishes himself by his style of living, and mode of expence. These are entirely French, and most magnificent. As nothing can be more contrary to the Emperor's rigid œconomy, than such a way of life; it is not certain but that the count, though nothing can shake him, his merits are so well known, may upon a change be obliged to an alteration in this respect, which his age, and the habits he has contracted, would make unpleasing to him.

What with the erection of new schools, and the care to prevent the erection of new cloisters, the battles about new books, and the recommendations to civil and military employments, all the three parties have sufficiently to do. The last point, especially, gives them constant work. There is hardly an employment vacant, but the Empress is wearied with recommendations from her ladies and priests; and the Emperor, whose candidate is commonly the man of most merit, is almost always sure to come too late. There are a great number of sinecure offices in the country, but many counsellors and assessors have
either

either nothing to do, or put in deputies to do their business for a very little money.—The luxury in which these people live is beyond conception. *His honour* (for every pettyfogging judge of the court of conscience is *his honour*) must have his gentleman; and *her honour*, the wife, must have her waiting lady—nor is it as it is with us, where between the gentleman and the footman there are no intermediate ranks: here there must be a *maitre d'hotel* and a secretary; and as *his honour* has great business every where but in his own court, he must likewise have his coach. In a word, there is not a court in Europe, except the Turkish, which pays its servants of the second order so well as this does, and yet is so ill served by them.

For several years the Empress has given up the direction of the army entirely to her son, and one sees immediately, from the very different style of arrangement which prevails here from that which obtains in the civil and ecclesiastical departments, by whom it is governed. Though the peasantry of the Austrian dominions have always been soldiers, the finances of the court were in such disorder, till the times of the last Emperor, that the Dutch and English were always forced to pay subsidies. The Emperor Francis laid the foundation of the greatness of the country; but that it is becoming every day more and

more formidable, is owing to one man, who unites in his person, not only the intellect necessary to carry on the greatest enterprizes, but also the greatest knowledge of discipline, and the œconomical arrangements of an army; I mean General Lacy, without a doubt one of the greatest geniuses of the present century. How little, indeed, do some of the greatest wits of the age appear in comparison of a man who goes into the cabinet to plan arrangements against the united powers of all Europe—then runs through an army of 250000 men, so as to pay attention to the smallest article of the soldiers clothing;—at one instant, with the happiest combination of ideas and conjecture of probabilities, lays plans of marches and sieges,—the next writes to the taylor and shoemaker of the army to give the clothes a better cut, and the shoes a better slit;—then entertains himself with the Emperor, in laying plans for the better administration of justice, and the great concerns of the state;—then lays himself out to endeavour to simplify the most trifling military manœuvre; then walks through the store-houses, and gives orders for the better arrangement of the stores; and in the next half hour moralizes in the Socratic manner upon any event that happens. In a word, if the power of carrying on several useful pursuits well at one and the same time is to mark the character of a man,

man, there are few to be compared with the field-marshal. Indeed, whoever knows at all what knowledge of the infantry, cavalry, and artillery of an army is requisite to set these great masses in motion, will wonder how the head that can do this can attend to the buttons of a soldier's spatterdash. And yet, would you think it! with all this, and a great deal more merit in a thousand different ways, this great man (I blush for humanity whilst I write it!) is universally hated, not only by all the people of fashion, but by the army whose father he is! The reason is a very evident one; before his time every captain had an opportunity of cheating his sovereign, by furnishing the soldiers of his company with every article of clothing, and those of a higher rank had a fellow feeling with the paymaster, and divided the contents of the military chest between them. That is now all at an end; the soldier is supplied out of the Emperor's warehouses with every possible article for which he can have occasion, and he receives his pay the moment it is due; he is better clothed than any soldier in Europe, and accustomed to a thrift which cannot but contribute to the increase both of his health and strength. All that the marshal reaps in return for this is to be laughed at and despised. The monks, who know that he is not their friend, do all they can to make him unpopular; but

but he is wise enough to laugh at all they can do, and even to amuse himself with the thoughts of doing good for which he receives no thanks.

As for the black band under Migazzi, it is divided into two parties. One of these thinks with the cardinal, i. e. true Bellarmine like, and never misses an opportunity of introducing an ex-jesuit, when it is possible. This, however, is the smallest in number; nor can Migazzi now and then prevent a wolf from being shut up with his sheep; there are even some bishops who only wait the Emperor's permission to fall to and level his hierarchy with the ground. In the mean time, however, the Cardinal does what he can to keep the public schools and churches free from the infection. A few years ago, a monk took it into his head to preach that, "Priests owe the same subjection to the civil power as the lowest of its subjects—as they enjoy the same protection and prerogatives as these, they are bound in the same manner to take upon them the offices of the state. The church, partly from its own usurpations, partly from the weakness of temporal sovereigns, has risen, in times of darkness, to a height where the first Christians would not know it again. Every prince is obliged to promote the good of the church as far as it coincides with the good of the state, &c. &c." The cardinal, who in
 general

general does not like sermons, immediately marked his prey. The Emperor at first took the monk's part with great spirit; this made the cunning archbishop hold his hand; but as soon as the Emperor had sat out on his travels, the monk was immediately seized and sent prisoner to a convent in Upper Austria, where he still remains, whilst the Emperor has nothing for it, but to set down these and many other *traits* of the same kind, in the book of his remembrance.

The great triumph of the archiepiscopal party shews itself in the licensing of books. Nothing can be well conceived more grievous than the situation of the licensers of the press, many of whom are very sensible worthy men. They are often forced to alter almost the whole of a MS. and after all remain answerable for whatever an old court lady, a monk, a fool, or a knave, may see obnoxious in it when it comes out; but their hardest work is to manage what is published with regard to the country; for one grand principle obtains here, which is, that nothing which is Austrian can be bad. What the state of literature is under all these discouragements shall be the subject of my next letter.

L E T T E R XXIV.

Vienna.

THE powers of the soul are like the powers of the body ; as the various exercises of swimming, boxing, dancing, and running, give strength and polish to the one, which a continued state of rest would inevitably deprive it of, so to develop the powers of the soul of a people, the mind must have its gymnastic exercises too. Freedom of motion is to the body, what freedom of thought is to the soul, and unnatural compulsion renders body and soul alike torpid and stiff.

Of all the nations mentioned in history, the Greeks and Romans were those whose philosophy was the least united with their religion ; and it was probably owing to this cause, that their spirits received an impulse which the Ægyptians, Babylonians, and Chaldæans, never knew. Philosophy, and whatever was called science among these last, were the special property of the priests, whose interest demanded that they should be smothered in hieroglyphics, and kept from the people. The little that some learned Greeks gleaned from their voyages to the Nile and Euphrates, were not the productions
of

of a fruitful genius ; but only tedious investigations, which the slow and progressive labours of monks had traced out. Their celebrated philosophy did nothing for the people ; it had nothing benevolent in it ; nothing that purified taste or sentiments ; nothing that extended the comforts of social life, or advanced the progress of legislation. It was the dry result of solitary studies, and the people who could not understand its drift, took no share in it.

When more modern Rome wove the web of power, and endeavoured to gain the mastery over mankind, by commanding their opinions, it was natural that all the arts and sciences should be subjected to religion. The figure of the earth, the spots of the sun, and the whole of the Copernican system were to be reconciled to the *letter* of scripture, the fathers, the councils, and the papal bulls. Every thing was referred to religion ; and had not the Pope endeavoured to subject the power of princes to it, we should still have been in the darkness of the eleventh century.

Long after the reformation, the custom of looking upon every thing with religious spectacles still continued. The Protestant priests could not forego the old custom of being the arbiters of morality. It is true, that by the separation they undermined their own power ; but they did

it by degrees, and without being conscious of the consequences. Though Luther permitted the temporal princes to seize the estates of the ecclesiastics, it is evident, from his writings, that as a reformer of the church he placed himself far above all the powers of this world. Calvin's insolence and spirit of oppression in religious matters is well known. Their followers long maintained their usurped domination over the temporal powers, and the regions of science.—Some of them are still in possession of it at this day. We must do our author the justice to acknowledge, that it is the first since the times of the Greeks and Romans, in which true freedom of thought, and a philosophy really beneficial to mankind has appeared.

No doubt but the English have greatly taken the lead in these matters. That they did so, was owing to the spirit of their constitution in some degree; but still more to the established toleration of so many sectaries, who not being united to each other, could establish no general plan of tyranny, over the opinions of their fellow-creatures. It was natural for the English, divided as they are into so many sects, who enjoy almost the same privileges in the state, by degrees to consider legislation, science, and whatever else belongs to social life, as independent of religion; whilst on the other hand, the Swedish and
Danish

Danish priests, as well as those of some Protestant republics, would continue to exercise their empire over all worldly concerns. The spirit of the Englishman, fettered by no restraints, took the eagle flight, that carried it beyond the rival nations. Their philosophers allowed themselves to wander through very contradictory speculations. They had their Cynics, their Pythagoreans, their Platonists, their Epicureans, and many others ; but they were, like the ancients, all of a mind about the essential duties of man, and the difference of their speculations only set their opposition in a clearer light. Even in the sciences of calculation, they shewed the energy of a genius, that was accustomed to allow itself to expatiate freely in the various fields of science. It is true, that they often gave into the most ridiculous hypothesis, and the most puerile superstition ; but these excrescences of the freedom of thought are as inseparable from it, as other excrescences are from civil freedom, nor can you prevent all abuses, without taking away the thing itself that is abused.

All I shall say of our own country, is, that the freedom of thought is much less limited in it by government, than, it is in several countries which call themselves free, much less so as to religious matters, than in many protestant countries.

I must

I must now return to Vienna, from whence I have taken a pretty long excursion.

I had heard so much, throughout my journey hither from the Rhine, of the state of the schools in Austria, and of the great care the Empress took in the education of her subjects, and for the improvement of arts and sciences, that I thought of nothing all the way, but finding Vienna a German Athens. It was probably owing to these over great expectations that I was so much disappointed. The schools for the young children are, of all the public institutions, far the best, though many things are taught, even here, which can be of no service in life, and only serve to make young pedants, and *charlatans*. Religion, and morals are taught them in a way that can neither warm the heart nor enlighten the head, nor is sufficient care taken of the morals. These defects are, however, in some measure supplied, by the insight given into commerce, navigation, agriculture, &c. And it must be confessed, that these schools are the only ones I have hitherto seen in the catholic states in Germany, in which the children are more taught to be good citizens than good monks. Still, however, the two predominant features of this state, blind subordination, and a regard for monks, are very prevalent here. But yet I cannot conceive how many families still prefer to trust their children

dren to the private education of French women (who are commonly cast-off strumpets, or foolish chambermaids, who prefer being governesses here, to making fires and warming beds in France); or how such swarms of French and Italian abbés, are still allowed to educate the young men. It must be allowed, indeed, of the schools, that as they are still new institutions, in which there obtains no thorough well-digested system, and as there are frequently changes made in them, they have not yet had any very sensible effect upon the public manners; but it is probable that the next generation will find the advantage of them.

I attended the several courses read by the public professors. It is certain that the expence of these must be very great to the Empress. Not only the courses usually read elsewhere are free here, but they read upon several subjects which you must pay a very high price for with us.—Such are the living languages, the science of politics, &c. There prevails, however, still a kind of barbarity, which makes one lament the great expence the sovereign is at. Mr. Pilati, the editor of *Voyages en differents Pays de l'Europe*, from 1774 to 1776, says, he has heard it maintained in an Austrian university, “That all the property of the subject belong to the sovereign.” I cannot say quite so much; but I believe

believe that no reader on the law of nature here, would dare to assert, that the sovereign has duties to fulfil towards his subjects, as well as the subjects towards him. I was assured, that the finding this proposition, in the syllabus of a Benedictine of Saltzburg, had given such offence to one of the licensers of the press, that the person who had the book, was desired to send it out of the country. The Roman law too, with all its numerous train of comments, and paraphrases, so far remote from our present constitution and manners, still supports itself in this famous university, and must make the candidates for the professional chair, pedants and false reasoners. As to the *jus publicum*, those who have happened to hear lectures read upon it here, and at Strasburg, would not believe it to be the law of the same empire. At Strasburg, Germany is considered as a republic; in which the Emperor only occupies the place of a consul, or a dictator; whereas here he is considered as a most absolute monarch. Our own theology is sufficiently barbarous; but here I have heard them read for an hour together, *de immaculata conceptione Mariæ*. Another time I heard a subtle doctor make very serious enquiry, whether, supposing any man to have had existence before Adam, he would have been tainted with original sin! As to Christian ethics, they are still taken from *Busenbaun, Voit,*

and their fellows I have heard such lascivious descriptions in the public schools as, had they been found in a profane book, would unavoidably have placed it in the *index* of prohibited books. It is true, indeed, that Busenbaun, in his *Morality for the Stews*, has declared that it is right to read plainly upon morality, even though it should excite sinful affections in the scholars, and even though, those affections should break out into sinful actions. For he says, "it will do "the more good at confession." As to their metaphysics, they are the very quintessence of pendency and nonsense. Though I was not surprised to hear a learned professor demonstrate, that two single substances could not kiss and embrace each other, and that it was not impossible but one and the same thing, should exist in the same instant a thousand times in different places; I could not well conceive what my learned man meant to do with this last proposition, which I remembered to have seen in a metaphysical book, till at length it struck me, that it was intended to make the people understand how the body of Christ might be in every consecrated host from Canton to Berlin, at the same instant; for every thing here has a reference to religion. What amazed me most, however, in my metaphysician, was, the seeming extent of his erudition. There was not a metaphysician from the *Æthiopian*
Trog-

Troglodite to *John James*, whose works he did not seem to have read through; he quoted from every language that has ever existed, and in the course of half an hour confuted at least six antagonists. He amused me, in short, so much, that I could not help going often to hear, and get what I could out of him. At length, I borrowed of a student, who was in the same house with me, the metaphysical lecture book he read from, which was written by the Jesuit *Storchenaw*. At first sight, you would imagine that this jesuit had found out the secret of making metaphysics overturn all possible knowledge. Not only all the old sects, such as the Pythagorean, Platonicians, and Epicureans, but likewise all the fathers of the church were here collected together. Next to these, you find all that has been written in the middle or latter centuries, by *Machiavel*, *Hobbes*, *Spencer*, *Descartes*, *Mallebranche*, *Bayle*, *Leibnitz*, *Locke*, *Voltaire*, *Rousseau*, *Bolingbroke*, *Hume*, *Helvetius*, the author of the *Systeme de la Nature*, and a thousand other writers, who certainly never dreamed of being confuted thus in a lump, by a jesuit of the university of Vienna. The student, of whom I borrowed the book conceived himself to be possessed of the kernel of all these writers, nor had he the least doubt himself to be able to overturn all the fine sophistry of *Bayle* and *Spinosa*, with two leaves of his book.

You

You may suppose I was eager to be acquainted with a man who knew so much. But how surprised was I, when a friend of his assured me, he had never read a line either of Bayle, Machiavel, Voltaire, or many other writers whom he had confuted ! He himself had once lent him three quarto volumes only for one single evening, and in a few days after found them answered in a dissertation.

The best lectures are, without a doubt, those given on physic. Van Swieten has done what was to be expected from him in this branch. The professors affect to be of no sect either past or present, but accustom their scholars to abuse Hippocrates, Galen, Boerhaave, &c. and to trust only to themselves. Except Storck, however, who is physician to the Emperor, there are hardly three good physicians here. Yet the method of learning practice is a good one. Every candidate for a degree has a certain set of patients in the hospital. These he visits, and prescribes for, and then writes down the symptoms of their disease, together with his reasons for giving the drugs he orders. The professor then come ; looks over the prescriptions ; compares them with the state of the patient, and makes his observations on them.

L E T T E R XXV.

Vien

VIENNA swarms with literati. When a man accosts you, whom you do not know by his dirty hands for a painter, smith, or shoemaker, or by his livery for a footman, or by his fine clothes for a man of consequence, you may be assured that you see either a man of letters, or a taylor; for between these two classes I have not yet learned to distinguish. It would be in vain for you, however, to ask me the names of these great men; for I confess I know none but the very few who have a real title to that appellation, such as Hell, Martini, Storck, Stephani, Denis, and Sonnerfels, the only philosopher who deserves the name, the one who unites useful knowledge to patriotism, taste, and elegance. As to those among the highest ranks, who either cultivate their knowledge for themselves, or employ their talents in the service of their country, they would be ashamed of the title of man of letters, degraded as it now is.

I happend by chance to take up a book, written by a professor of Lintz; it is called the *Learned*, but for its contents might as well have been

been called the *Unlearned Austria*, as it does not give an account of a single original work that has merit, but only mentions about one hundred writer of dissertations, bad verses, sermons, and miserable comedies. But the place abounds in such authors, whose knowledge of the world does not exceed that of a common footman. In Paris you would be surpris'd to find a man of letters not acquainted with the history of his own country, that of Europe, and so forth. Here it is a prodigy to meet with one who knows any of these things.

Many of the Emperor's officers with whom I am acquainted, deserve the title of learned men, much more than the miserable wretches to whom it is given. Besides professional knowledge, most of the former possess a certain knowledge of the world, and the habits of conversation; and I know several of them who may be called philosophers, which is not the case with four of the other class.

The Italians and French are generally reproached with having worn themselves out. This may be true, but it did not happen before we had produced master-pieces in every branch of science; whereas these people, as has indeed been acknowledged by their own writers, have gone straight from barbarity into barrenness, nor has philosophy ever had her day here. The
reason

reason of this may be easily assigned. Hitherto, the dæmon of monkery has held the national spirit in its claws, and though attempts have been made to set it free, the dæmon has only allowed it liberty enough to play, and has hitherto been both powerful, and provident enough to prevent its slave from becoming its master. It is Joseph who must break these chains.

After what I have been telling you of the state of things, you will not be surpris'd when you are told, that most of the men of merit here are foreigners. Lacy, Laudohn and Wurmser, in the army, were not born here; and as to the rest, Storck is a Suabian; Denis, the great Austrian poet, a Bavarian; and Hell, the mathematician, a Silesian; nay, though the higher posts of the state are occupied by natives, yet are the Emperor's confidential secretaries foreigners. What is more, all the new enterprizes have also been set on foot by foreigners, who have been but indifferently rewarded. The inventor of that most useful of institutions, the penny post, was obliged to run away for debt; a French officer who had been called in to make some improvements in the artillery, had his work made so uneasy to him, that he was obliged to look for more gratitude at Naples; and an Englishman who had taught them the art of gelding horses safely, being paid only in great promises, and neglected

neglected when the business was done, was made so unhappy by it, that he shot himself through the head, and left a note upon his table, purporting that he died because he had been led into contracting debts, a thing he was not accustomed to. This neglect of merit is not be charged to the court. Those who can come into the prince's sight are no where more splendidly rewarded than they are here; but then it must be confessed too, that there is no place where the minions of a court so well understand the art of keeping talents out of sight. The Emperor, indeed, strives to break these intrigues as much as he can, and to meet merit half way; but it is impossible for a great monarch to do every thing.

I have little to say of what concerns the arts, though I saw the academy's annual exhibition of painting and sculpture. The former consisted merely of portraits. In statuary there were only two busts, one of the Emperor, the other of the Empress, which gave me any pleasure; but you know I am no great connoisseur. The great triumph of the arts is the theatre, of which therefore I shall give you an account in my next letter.

L E T T E R XXVI.

Vienna.

SIXTEEN years since, harlequin was the life of every dramatic performance; nothing was agreeable but what he did or said; though the critics of the northern parts of Germany have hissed him from their stages, the multitude here still wish for his return. When harlequin was dismissed, attempts began to be made towards forming a national theatre; this was done by slow degrees, but it has at length come to considerable perfection. I have seen them play the *Pere de Famille* here nearly as well, I think, as it could be acted on a Paris theatre. The company is select, but it has the same faults as that of Paris; the faults which every company must have that is not under very strong government.

I was conversing some days ago upon this subject with one of the principal actors: “ We form,” says he, “ a kind of parliament amongst ourselves, and the intendant of the court has no more power over us, than the king of Great Britain has over the House of Commons.” So much the worse, thought I; the
 repub-

republican form of government, which is always a bad one, must be particularly so for a company of players, part of whom desire *always* to be the kings and princes which they are upon the boards, and to hold their comrades in the same state of subjection they do there.

I must introduce you to the acquaintance of the principal of these *whigs*; they are really worthy to be known to you, for they deserve the respect in which they are held, and which has gained them admittance to all the best societies of the place.

The elder *Stephanie*, the manager, is an extraordinary man off the stage. He has read much, and has a very good heart. He has a great deal of wit, and all the manner and polish of a man of the world. It is pity that his make is not the best for the theatre; his feet are ugly, and the belly is not quite what it should be, to correspond with the upper part of the body. He endeavours as much as he can to conceal this defect by artificial postures, but you see that his figure hurts him. After Brockman, he is the best speaker on the stage, but not the most pleasing, as his voice often wants force. His pronunciation is remarkably good, which he owes to his education in Saxony. His countenance is naturally expressive, though not so much so on the stage as it might be, from the circum-
stance

stance of his being fair, and not painting sufficiently. His principal parts are those of affectionate fathers. I have no where seen *Le Pere de Famille* played better than by him; but as he is conscious of the imperfections of his figure, and has to do with an unmanageable set, he is often forced to take up with parts not made for him. On this principle I have often seen him play young, lively princes with no great credit to himself; still, however, there is sense in all he does, and he makes every thing that can be made of a part. Besides several translations from the French and English, if I mistake not, he has written several original pieces.

His younger brother is the direct opposite of him, a rough, stiff, arrogant man, with the face of Medusa, and at first sight he seems more intended for a corporal of grenadiers, than for an actor. He plays the parts of clowns, angry boys, tyrants, executioners, and the like, which are all so natural to him, that nobody else can do them as well. He is still more valuable as a poet than as an actor. Notwithstanding all the faults found with him, his pieces are represented on all the stages of Germany, even on those where people exclaim most loudly against them: they contain, indeed, a great deal of nature, admirable characters, and often very fine plots. It is
 pity

pity that these merits are shaded by some imperfections, but the author is not sufficient master of his language, and his fertility (for he sells his pieces by the dozens) often compels him to take up with improbable stories. If he would but give himself a little more time to correct and polish, he might pass for one of the best poets of the time. His *Love for the King*, founded on the history of Charles II. his *Deserteur aus Kindesliebe*; his *Bekantschaft in Bad*; his *Wolfe in des Keerde*, and his *Unterschied Bey Dienstbewerbungen*, though not worked up to classical elegance, bespeak true genius. He is entirely callous to all criticisms, both in his acting and writing; laughs at, or abuses the critics to their faces, or if needs must, brings them to order with his fists.

Brockman has been here for some years; he was known to fame long before, and enjoyed the same reputation at Hamburgh, which Garrick did in England, and Le Kain at Paris. It was a great while before they could persuade him to come to Vienna, owing to the fear he had of the republican cabals of this theatre, and his not being upon very good terms with his wife, who was engaged here; but at length considerable offers prevailed on him. He is one of those players who do not please you most at first sight, but improves on you the more you see them. You must be accustomed to somewhat of an unwieldy figure,

figure, and somewhat of a hoarse voice, before you can value his merits as they deserve; but whoever can get over these slight defects is sure to be enraptured with his expression. Not a shade of passion escapes him. The uncommon ease of his action conceals the extraordinary study which he has bestowed on every motion and every word. He is constantly before the looking-glass, and every thing in him bespeak understanding, industry, and practice. His chief part is Hamlet, which, however, the republican constitution of this theatre does not allow him to play, as it is a rule here not to take from any man a part which he has once acted, and this part is possessed by Mr. de Lange, a gentleman of whom I shall speak more freely hereafter. Brockman, however, is like Garrick, and can play every part, from the sultan to the slave.—I do not know a greater proof of a thorough knowledge of the world.

We now come to a man who is truly an *unique* in his way, I mean *Bergopzoomer*, one of the greatest *charlatans*, and at the same time, one of the greatest workmen in his art I have yet seen. He kept a theatrical academy at Prague, where he hit upon the singular device of making every motion of the hands or feet by letters of the alphabet. When he said A, B, C, D, &c. his scholars were to fall into the corresponding attitudes.

He

He is likewise the author of a very dreadful tragedy, the chief characters of which (played by himself) dispatches all the rest, and then dispatches himself. Deeds of blood are his *forte*. I saw him play Richard the Third very well. He is strong, but well made, has a wonderful voice, a lively eye, a great deal of expression in his countenance, and knows how to make good use of all these advantages. He excels even Brockman in art, for he paints his face of all possible colours, in order to hit the face of the person he represents to the life. He puts on a great deal of false hair, which he tears off when he is in a passion, and tosses about the stage by handfuls. His wounds must bleed true blood: when he is in a great passion he often spits blood. I saw him throw himself on the ground in Richard, and grin, and grind his teeth in such a manner, as really made me shudder. With all this, there is an appearance of nature in his expression of the passions, that forces an adept in theatrical matters to forget all his trick and grimace. His *Fayel** surpasses every thing of the kind I have ever seen. He thoroughly understands the advantage an actor has in using a proper climax of voice. In the part of *Camillo Rota*, in *Emilia Galotte*, he makes the whole pit shud-

* A character in the tragedy of Percy.

der, without any motion of the arms or any alteration of countenance, barely by speaking five or six words. Nor does he excel only in the parts of kings and murderers. His *Sir John Restless*, in *All in the Wrong*, is a masterly performance. You know what a difficult part that is. It is pity that he will not play these kinds of parts oftener. To sum up his character, he is a good companion, and, what is more rare to be met with in a player, a man of fortune.

Amongst all the actors, there is none who has so many friend and protectors amongst the great people, as Mr. *Miller*. The man understands every thing; he makes lotteries at the public assemblies, keeps toybooths in them for the ladies; has a clever wife and handsome daughter, who play upon the harpsichord in the houses of the great, and he knows how to improve all these advantages. His credit is so good, that he is said, though I believe matters to be a little exaggerated in this respect, to have constantly 50000 guilders of other people's money in circulation. He lives like a great man with the great. His house stands in one of the best and most expensive parts of the town. He has a suite of rooms furnished with great taste and magnificence. He hires an elegant garden in one of the suburbs, where, in summer time, he keeps open table for all the world. All the wits of Germany bring him letters

ters of recommendation, and he takes them into his house. The acquaintances he thereby makes amongst the great persons here, and the learned persons there, fully pay him for his hospitality. He has also written some plays, but these have not answered so well as his dealings in toys. He is the most insinuating man in the world, and as he endeavours to serve every one, so he is desirous of being served by them. As an actor, he is intolerably vain. His proper parts are those of pedants, footmen, and tilters; but as he does not like to play a different part on the stage from what he plays off it, he will be enacting courtiers and petits maitres.

Mr. *Lange*, whom I mentioned before, is a handsome man, and has a very good voice. His fault consists in his being a painter. All his attitudes on the theatre are academical, and his stiff movements remind us of those drawing-schools in which they put the figure in attitudes, in which it is seldom or never seen in nature. He might give up his Hamlet to Brockman, and be no loser; but he has a perversity about him which is a sign of a small understanding. When he is to speak a speech, which he thinks will meet with applause, he comes as near to the pit as he can, and often goes beyond the side-boxes. He has too little understanding to act the parts of ordinary life. His *forte* is in heroes of romance,
and

and he excels in *Coucy*, in *Fayel*. He has no command of his fine voice, but falls, by degrees into singing. He often strikes his breast with his double fists. He has many friends, and an amiable wife, who sings very well. By means of his friends he often possesses himself of parts to which he has no other pretensions. In fine, he is likewise one of the few players who are rich.

The only actor of the first class, who remains to be spoken of, is Mr. *Steigentesch*, whom I had much rather see in a room than on the stage. He is a man of very universal knowledge, speaks several languages, and has a great deal of wit; but his little figure, and a considerable degree of affectation, spoil his acting, which, however bespeaks a great deal of understanding and knowledge of the world. He plays beaux and coxcombs, which as well as lovers are in bad hands.—I shall say nothing to you of the remainder, as it would make the catalogue too large.

Madam *Sakko* has the pre-eminence amongst the ladies. She was formerly Mademoiselle *Richard*, and was more known to the great world, betwixt the Rhine and the Elbe, by the charms of her person than by her acting. She seemed for a time to have lost in love pursuits those astonishing talents which nature had given her, but they discovered themselves by degrees, and she has endeavoured to make up for the time

by uncommon study and application. She possesses a feeling heart, a Greek profile, a fantastic, or, if I may so say, a romantic countenance, eyes full of fire, a very fine person, and a silver toned voice. Those who would be quite melted, must see her in the part of *Gabrielle de Vergis*. For the first time in my life in a theatre, I felt tears fall from my eyes. Tragedy, however, is not her sole *farte*; she plays the parts of fine ladies, marchionesses, and devotees, with the same felicity. She has a thorough knowledge of the world, and all the doors of this place, those of the imperial cabinet itself not excepted, are open to her. She is such a mistress of her motions, that a friend of mine compared her to an instrument which plays treble and base at the same time. Indeed, all the motions of her mouth, eyes, arms, and body, are in such thorough unison with, and set off each other so well, that I do not know to what she can better be compared than to an instrument of this sort. There are not three actresses in the world to be compared to her; and she is worthy to be, as she is, the goddess of the public's idolatry. Still, however, she was forced to wait some time before the public saw her merit. Her action, like *Brockman's*, does not please at first sight, as that of *Bergop-zoomer* and *Lange* does. This is common to all that is very fine, you must examine and compare
the

the parts, before you can be struck with the beauty and symmetry of the whole.

Mademoiselle *Teutscher* and Mademoiselle *Nannette Jaynet* are the next. These ladies would be good actresses if there was no *Sakko*. I know no other ladies to mention to you but Madame *Huber*, who on, and off the stage enacts the part of a proud, quarrelsome, and foolish wife to perfection.

The whole company is in the pay of the court, and every individual in it, keeps his salary for life, even when he ceases to be serviceable. The highest salary paid by the court is 1200 guilders; besides this the principal actors have 600 guilders for fire and clothes, and what remains of the receipts after the expences are paid, is divided amongst them. The receipts generally amount to 120,000, and the expences to 80,000 guilders a year. The superflux is divided according to the salaries. Those who have children endeavour to procure them a small appointment as soon as possible. In general, these are given with great liberality.—They made Madam *Sakko's* husband (by profession a dancer, but of no manner of use), inspector of the wardrobe, with an appointment of 500 guilders; so the two together have 2300 guilders, or about 250 pounds a year. The second rates have from 800 to 1000 guilders, and the thirds from 400

to 600 guilders. Jacynel and his his two daughters receive 4000 guilders, or about 400 pounds a year.

The cabals and intrigues which exist in this commonwealth, you can have no conception of: every new part makes a quarrel, in which the courtiers take part; the public suffers accordingly. If this company was under good management, it would be one of the three first in Europe. As things now are, authors are greatly injured. When a play is offered, it is read in the theatrical parliament, when the majority of votes decide whether it shall be acted or not; the consequence of this is, that a good play is often refused, either because some of the first actors have no good part in it, or because they will not leave a good part to another, or because they are not at leisure to study a new part, or, which is ofteneft the case, because they know nothing of the merits. The author of a new piece, together with a premium, is entitled to a third part of what his work produces, and may sell the copy. Notwithstanding these advantages, new plays are so scarce, that they have been obliged to call in the assistance of a German opera. The quarrels this daily occasions betwixt the two companies, and the contempt they have for one another, are truly ridiculous.—The Empress takes care that the public manners of

of the actresses shall be more decent than they are at Paris.

Upon the whole, the public of this place has as bad a taste as that of Munich. Every thing here cries out *panem et circenses*, and the multitude seem to have no other wishes than to have their paunches well filled, and a theatrical entertainment by way of dessert ; but neither the taste or morals are improved by this. The generality wish for the return of harlequin, who, though he cannot appear, as he used to do, with his motley coat and wooden sword, often struts about in the hero's dress to delight them ; at least it is only to this that I can ascribe the miserable pantomimes with which the tragic actors intersperse their tragedies. The general taste is for grimace, buffoonery, and exaggeration. Of a good plot, natural and easy dialogue, or pure style, they know nothing. I have heard several things applauded here which would have been hissed at Paris, if the French of them had been as bad as the German was.

Besides the national theatre, six or seven strolling companies occupy the suburbs. These are of the sort I have been used to in Suabia. The actors consist of taylor, perriwig-makers, apprentices, and ruined students, who are sometimes on the stage, sometimes in the hospital, and sometimes in the army. These gentlemen play
by

by a kind of half light, favourable to the purposes of intrigue. Those of them succeed best who have their booths in a garden, where a man may walk with his friend betwixt the acts. They are so conscious that the public does not come to see them, that half the company is commonly in the alehouse whilst the play is going forward, and one man acts three or four parts.

L E T T E R XXVII.

Vienna.

THE editor of *Voyages en différentes parties de l'Europe* speaks very contumeliously of the German nobility, and ranks the Neapolitan ones far above them in point of income. He should at least have excepted the Austrian nobles, as there are several there who possess more than any six of the richest Neapolitans he mentions. Prince Francis Lichtenstein, the elder branch of that family, has at least 900,000 florins, that is 2,300,000 French livres per annum. In Moravia only, he has twenty estates, which consist of twenty, or thirty villages each; he is, without comparison, the richest man in Europe.—

Lord

Lord Cavendish, who passes for the most opulent man in England, has not above 80,000*l.* a year. At Paris there is not either a farmer-general, or a man of quality, whose income passes 120,000 livres. Neither Prince Radzivil, nor Prince Ctzartorisky in Poland, nor any of the Russian nobility, have estates like those of Prince Lichtenstein. Prince Esterhazy has upwards of 600,000, and Prince Schwartzenberg above 400,000 guilders a year. There are upwards of forty people here who have estates of 100,000 guilders a year, the greatest, as Mr. Pilati says, that any Neapolitan possesses, and twelve, besides those I have mentioned, who have as much again. The houses of Charles Lichtenstein, Aversberg, Lobtowik, Paar, Palfy Kollaredo, Hasfeld Schonborn, and many others are much richer than the dukes Pignatelli, and Matalone, or the princes of Palagonia and Villa-Franca, at Naples.

Notwithstanding, however, these vast revenues, most of the great houses are in debt, which may be very easily accounted for; as in other countries, some one favourite luxury or other has the ascendant, here they all reign; nor is there any species of them you can name, either horses, servants, the pleasures of the table, play, or dress, but what is carried to the utmost excess. Here are several stables of fifty, sixty, or more horses,

horses; whoever has an estate of fifty or sixty thousand florins, must have from twenty-four to thirty horses; and it is a moderate establishment, which consists only of a *maitre d'hotel*, a secretary, two *valets de chambre*, two running footmen, one or two huntsmen, two coachmen, five or six footmen, and a porter. The houses of Lichtenstein, Esterhazy, Sahwartzenberg, and some others, keep fifty footmen, beside which, the two former have a body guard. A single plate of fruit often costs, from sixty to seventy florins, and count Palm once appeared in a coat that had cost 90,000 guilders. It is common to give from thirty to forty thousand florins for a lady's dress; and though hazard is forbidden, there are several games at which you may lose from fifteen to twenty thousand florins at a sitting.

Prince Rohan*, who some time since was ambassador from France here, endeavoured to vie in expence with the inhabitants of the place, but, besides getting considerably into debt, he was obliged to confess, at going away, that though a man spends his money with more taste at Paris, a great deal more may be spent at Vienna. It is, indeed, very true, that they spend their money without taste or enjoyment, and several of them

* The celebrated Cardinal of that name.

would do better to throw half their incomes out of the window, and set the populace a scrambling for them, for they would have as much pleasure themselves. At Paris every man has some branch of œconomy, something upon which he saves, that he may afford to be expensive upon other occasions. There is likewise some discernment shewn in the choice of pleasures, and the poor, the arts, and even the native country, come in for some share of expence; but here all is idle pomp and magnificence. Amidst the wretched scenes exhibited by the mixture of superfluity and misery at Paris, the friend of mankind recollected that there is a *Beaumont*, and a *Cure de St. Sulpice*, who divide among the indigent a great part of the superfluities of the rich. But here there is no source of consolation for the old, and often sick beggar, who sinks into the coffee-houses and beer-houses at dusk to procure alms, whilst the great spend upon a single meal, what would feed a private family for a year.

The arts enjoy as little from the riches of this place as the poor do; almost all the palaces and gardens bespeak nothing but a tasteless profusion; and as to collections of pictures, I have seen none but the *Lichtenstein* gallery, that deserves any notice. It is true, indeed, that this may stand in the place of many; it consists of six hundred pieces by the best masters, and is divided

divided into twelve rooms, which have a magnificent appearance, but then this is all that is to be seen besides the imperial collection.

I had forgot to mention one *trait* exceedingly characteristic of the country. In some houses, the masters of which affect to live in the highest style, it is customary, when an entertainment is given, to provide doses of tartar emetick, and set them in an adjoining room; thither the guests retire when they happen to be too full, empty themselves, and return to the company again as if nothing had happened.

Musick is the only thing for which the nobility shew taste; several of them have private bands of musicians, and all the public concerts attest, that this branch of the arts is in the greatest esteem here. You may bring together four or five large orchestras, which are all incomparable. The number of private virtuosi is small, but there is no finer orchestra of music in the world. I have heard thirty or forty instruments play together, all which gave so just, so clear, and so precise a sound, that you would have thought you heard only a single very strong instrument; a single stroke gave life to all the violins, and a single blast to all the wind instruments. An Englishman, by whom I chanced to sit, was astonished not to hear in a whole opera, I will not say a single dissonance, but one hasty stroke, one too
long

long pause, one too loud blast. Though just come out of Italy, he was enraptured with the justness, and the clearness of the harmony. There are about four hundred musicians here, who divide themselves into particular societies, and often labour together for a long course of years. On a particular day of the year they have a general concert for the benefit of musicians widows; I have been assured, that the four hundred play together as distinctly, as clearly, and as justly, as when there are only from twenty to thirty. This is certainly the only concert of the kind in the world.

One of the most pleasing sights I have seen here was that of the lemonade booths in the summer evenings. They put up a large tent in some of the public parts of the town, round it are several hundred stools, which are occupied by the ladies and gentlemen of the place. At some distance there is a band of musick; the wonderful musick, the festive silence, and the familiarity which night diffuses over every thing, have all of them an unspeakable good effect.

To see the equipages of Vienna, you must go to a firework on the Prater in the summer-time. The Prater is a wood of oaks and beeches, on an island of the Danube, near the city. Towards the entrance, under the trees, there are about thirty tents, furnished with chairs and tables, in
which

which you meet with all kinds of refreshments. The place is constantly resorted to by day; but to see it in its splendour, you must go to a fire-work; about twelve thousand people assemble and take their supper under the trees. Towards the entrance of the night, on a given signal, they flock to the meadow, surrounded with high trees, in which the spectacle is exhibited. Directly opposite to the fire-work is a magnificent amphitheatre filled with several hundreds of ladies, whose high painted cheeks, rich jewels, and light summer clothes, have an unspeakable good effect. The pit, betwixt the amphitheatre and the fire-work, is filled as full as it can hold with men. At the conclusion of the festival a most extraordinary fight takes place; a row, of from twelve to fifteen hundred coaches, phaetons, and other four wheeled equipages, goes from the wood to the city, in so direct and close a line, that when they stop, the beam of the hinder carriages are close upon the chest of the fore ones; the consequence of which is, that as they go only in full trot, or gallop, many of the carriages are broke, and the people in them exposed to the utmost danger: most of these are gentlemen's coaches, with four, or six horses to them; the number of these in this place, are at least three thousand five hundred; there are about five hundred hackney coaches, and about three hundred

dred coaches that are let out. Notwithstanding the number of equipages on this occasion, there is hardly ever the least disorder; the foot passengers have their road, which no coachman dares to break in upon. The bridge betwixt the suburb of Leopold and the Prater, in which the pressure is strongest, is divided into four parts; the two outermost of these are for the foot-passengers, and the innermost for the coaches; that is, one for those who are going from, and another for those who are coming to the city. This order is kept up through the wood and on the *chausée* in the suburb, till you come to the city, and some *cuirassiers* ride to and fro with drawn sabres, to see that the order be observed. There is no instance of an accident having happened at the time of a festivity; all the casualties that take place through the neglect of coachmen, happen in the daily business of the city; there are, however, never above seven people driven over in a year, whereas at Paris we reckon there are twenty.

As to the fire-work itself, I set it far above all the amusements of this place, not excepting the national theatre itself. M. Stuver, who was the artificer, whose works I saw, understands it thoroughly; he exhibits whole gardens, large palaces, and temples, in due perspective, with all their different shades of colour, and almost as large as the life. His machines are particularly large

large and beautiful, and often make from six to eight fronts, from fifty to sixty feet long. At the opening of the exhibition, they let off several hundred rockets, which fly up with a noise like thunder, shake the whole forest, and make it light as at noon day. A few years ago he had a rival called Girandolini, who, in the estimation of all connoisseurs, had much more merit than himself, but was the victim of the bigotry of the public. Girandolini, who, as a stranger, had more difficulty to combat with, than the other, was obliged to uncommon exertions to obtain money, to do as much as Stuver. He had a great number of labourers at work during the whole spring and winter, but in the summer, on the day announced for the exhibition, there happened a great thunder storm, which spoiled all he had done. His disappointment led him to use imprecations, and he was discouraged as an atheist.

The *Augarten* is likewise one of the summer amusements, at which you may meet with all the fine world. This is a large park, which stands in the same island of the Danube as the Prater does, and is to the east of it; it is a work of the Emperor's, who, as the inscription over the door states, has opened it, as a friend of mankind, for a place of relaxation to all mankind. It is, however, visited only by the higher orders; the people who see it is not made for them, voluntarily

tarily exclude themselves : it is astonishing in how short a time this park is become what it is. —The Emperor, who is determined to see his work complete, spares for neither pains or expence to procure trees half grown, and full grown from the most distant part of the globe. Though there are a great variety of different trees and shrubs, and the walks have all the beauties that one can desire, there is a regulation and uniformity in the whole, which makes it like a true English garden. A very broad arm of the Danube which washes its banks, gives it a great deal of life. The most pleasing perspective, in the whole, is that of a large forest in perspective, which has been cut through on the other side of the river, and is bounded by the distant hills of Moravia, which sit about it like light clouds. —There is a magnificent pavilion, in which is a billiard-table and refreshments of all kinds. —Those who wish to see this place in full beauty, must visit it in the height of summer in the morning. The custom has prevailed for some years past, of coming here to drink mineral waters ; these, it is true, are fetched from upwards of a hundred miles distance, and can therefore do no great good, nor is there any need of it, for the invalids are most of them very well, and only come here to enjoy the ease and freedom which obtain at Spa, Pyrmont, and other water-drinking places. Here all ranks, particularly the no-

blesse and the literati mix together ; the ladies drink that they may shew themselves in *negligés*, and the men drink because the ladies are not so stiff in *negligés* as they are when full dressed.

There are several other places of public resort in this town ; that which is most generally visited is the Rempart, which, though exposed to a very warm sun, is almost always full. The middling people cannot go to church in the afternoon, without taking a turn round the Rempart, which takes them up an hour ; those of higher ranks walk to shew their dogs, which in this place only are safe from horses and carriages. Hounds are a great article of luxury here ; the fine folks endeavour to outdo each other in them ; at present the little Pomeranian breed is all the mode ; one of them either snow white, or coal black, and with a sharp snout, will fetch from ten to fifteen ducats. Prince X, gave twenty-five ducats for one ; every man who sets up at all for ton, must have his *spiffchen*, which is here the proper name of this dog. The peasants, who are the better for this folly, have built a dog-market adjoining the poultry-market.

The garden of Belvedere in the suburb of Rennevig, formerly in the possession of prince Eugene, is likewise at present a public walk ; the garden has nothing particular about it ; but the palace, both on account of its builder, and its admirable situation, is one of the most remarkable

markable places in the town ; from the balcony on the terrace, you command a view over the whole town, and all the country round. Some years ago the imperial pictures were moved hither ; the gallery consists of twenty-two large rooms ; the lower story is tenanted entirely by Italian masters. The best picture is a Cupid in the act of drawing his bow, by Corregio. It was bought for 18,000 ducats, by the Emperor Charles VII. but with many other pictures had been entirely neglected and trodden under foot, so that part of it was entirely spoiled, but what remains is Corregio still. The upper story is tenanted by the Flemish masters, who, in duty bound, do not keep company with the Italians. The gallery is open to every body three days in the week.

About a mile and a half from the city, in a fenny hollow, you meet with Schonbrurm, the summer residence of the Empress, but where the confined prospect, and bad air, did not allow me to stay two days. The palace is immense, built in a truly great style ; the furniture, too, is truly imperial ; there is one room furnished with tapestry from the *Gobelins*, that cost 300,000 guilders ; here too is the menagerie of wild beasts, so delightfully sung by *Metastasio*. The most remarkable I saw, was a true elephant of the large breed from India ; it was sent as a present from the Stadtholder, who

gave 10,000 guilders for it. On an eminence behind the palace the Emperor has built a *sala terrena* in the ancient style, with two rows of pillars on each side. This points out the spot where his mother should have built, if she had chosen to have had a fine prospect and good air. When the Empress is here, she sees only capuchins and old court ladies. This is likewise a place of public amusement, as the garden is always open, as is the palace also, at all such times as the Empress is not there.

The Kalteberg, which lies on the Danube, about three miles from the city, pleased me infinitely more; the way to it is through a wonderfully well cultivated country. At some distance to the left, on the slope of the hill, and under some very old oaks, you see field marshal Lacy's elegant villa, with his English garden. By degrees you gain a thick forest on the brow of the hill; on the top of this stands the Camaldeuleuse convent, in the finest point of view you can imagine. Under some trees before the convent, are a table and some benches, where the ladies, who cannot visit the inside of the monastery, without special permission from the archbishop, are entertained till their friends return. Every monk has his own separate hut, with a little garden belonging to it, To the outer cell there is a terrace, which looks over a perpendicular precipice.

precipice into the Danube, and commands a prospect of which a monk of this sort is quite unworthy. You have the whole city like a ground plot under your feet; you think you hear the constant hum in it, and your eye carries you over this part of Austria, as far as to the borders of Hungary and Moravia. The majestic Danube winds through an immense plain; at some distance it considerably widens, and, being covered with no woods or elevations, casts a silver appearance on the landscape. To your right, the wood crowned hill you are upon, gradually decreases to the suburbs, whilst to the left it stretches its high neck along the Danube, to, where, at three miles distance, you see the golden hill of Enserdors, which produces one of the best Austrian wines. The numberless fine villages, the blue hills swimming on the horizon, and all the various aspects of wood and water, diffuse a delight, which impressed me to such a degree, that I could not help communicating my enthusiasm to the monk, who was near me. "Happy," says I, "must be that brother who inhabits the outer cell." "No," said he, "we are not of your opinion, none of us chuse to live in it, for it is too much exposed to the winds, and is as cold again as any other." In a moment the man brought me out of my enthusiasm. You know I am one of those, who in summer never think
of

of winter, and who hate nothing more than to be forced to see the ugly side of things, be they as natural as they may, whilst I am taken up with the beautiful ones.—After having seen all that the monks had to shew, hair shirts and all, we gave them money to say masses for us, and hastened to our ladies under the trees. We had sent before us a cold collation, and some bottles of Shumlaver and St. Jorger. The day was fine, and the ladies in good humour, so that I do not know whether we might not a little prophane the entrance to the holy place. This pilgrimage was undertaken in the first days of my arrival here, but I have often been at the place since, and have found pleasure there, even in bad weather.

There are several other public places, amongst which you may reckon Mount Calvarie, and other places of devotion, which are visited by the young people of both sexes, not so much from motives of piety, as because they are protected from the inspection of the police.

L E T T E R XXVIII.

Vienna.

THE present court possesses several valuable collections, all of which are as much as possible open to the public. The imperial cabinet of medals hath scarce its equal in the world; there are twenty-two thousand ancient coins; the modern coins are extremely valuable; likewise a very valuable, and to those who wish to study the history of the middle ages, a very precious part of this collection, is, that which consists of all the coins and medals from Charlemaine to this time. The thought was Charles the VIth's, but the collection owes its existence to the Emperor Francis, who laid out great sums upon it. I say nothing to you of the several other rich collections of natural history, mathematical instruments, &c. &c. but, that like every thing the court possesses, they are open to every body, without the least trouble. But the library is one of the most precious in the world. It consists of more than three hundred thousand volumes, twelve thousand of which are valuable manuscripts. The building in which they are preserved is one of
the

the handsomest in the town. It is open every morning till twelve o'clock, for all persons who choose to come. They are furnished with tables, chairs, pen, ink, and paper; a secretary looks in the catalogue for the books wanted, which are immediately taken down from the shelves by some livery servant belonging to the court. There are fires in the room all the winter. None of the servants are allowed to take any thing. When once you are acquainted with the librarians, one of whom is always in a room adjoining, it is not so difficult to obtain prohibited books as has been pretended. Mr. Pilati, indeed, in his travels, says, that you cannot have a good book without the archbishop's permission; but I myself read the History of the Council of Trent, and all Machiavel's works through, without any leave.

Exclusive of the court library, there are several other public places where people may read. The bookseller Trattner once took it into his head to have a learned coffee-house in the great palace. He promised to provide the subscribers with all the newspapers, periodical publications, and pamphlets, in all the living languages. If this project had been properly followed, it might have proved the foundation of an academy, or learned society; but the subscribers soon saw that Trattner had no view but what regarded his own pocket. This Mr. Trattner compels the professors

fessors to sell him their manuscripts, and pays them not a farthing for them. He conceives himself to have this privilege as bookseller to the court, and exercises an intolerable tyranny over all the booksellers and *literati* of the place. Notwithstanding the high tone he affects, he does not scruple to descend to the lowest meannesses. He prints over again, with the imperial privilege, works which have been already printed with this privilege in the other parts of Germany. They say he has persuaded the Empress, that let a book be ever so successful, the bookseller gets nothing by it, if he pays the expence of printing; so that beside giving him the copy, she often pays the whole expence of printing the books she takes an interest in; but though Trattner flatters her foibles in many respects, there is not a person in Vienna who disobeyes her orders more strenuously. If you will pay him enough for them, he will procure you all prohibited books, even the most scandalous; and these are the only books which the generality care for; for it is not as with us, where you meet with *Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws*, *Voltaire's Universal History*, and *Rousseau's Social Contract*, in the hands of people who make no pretence to literature. Here are many literari who know nothing of these, and the like books, which they leave entirely to the higher nobility, and some of the officers.

officers. What succeeds here most is buffoonery, and even the bettermost part of the reading public, is satisfied with plays, romances, and fairy-tales. I know a dozen young men of letters, as these creatures here call themselves, who have read nothing since they came from school, but German and French poets. I was once tempted to go round the table of the public library to see what the readers were employed in; two or three out of about four and twenty were reading ancient writers, one was reading Sully's Memoirs, and all the rest had either romances, or were looking over such books as the *Museum Florentinum*, and the descriptions of the *Antiquities at Herculaneum*, for the sake of the prints. I must, however, make one observation in honour of the Hungarians; these generally call for the several historians of their own country, and they appeared to me to read them with an animation that bespoke the freedom of their government. May it not be owing to this difference of government, that the Hungarians, as I have generally observed, have more patriotism, and consequently care more for the history of their native country than the Austrians do? I have not found one of all the latter, who had a taste for any such thing.

After what I have been saying, it is not extraordinary that the societies of this country should be as dead as they are. The subject of the thea-

tre is soon exhausted, after which there is nothing left but the news of the day, and trifling observations. It is only the women who keep up the conversation at all ; these have infinitely more wit, vivacity, and knowledge of all kinds of things, than the men. In several houses I was in, the men had nothing to say after the first quarter of an hour, but their wives and daughters kept up the conversation with great cheerfulness. It is very true, that their fund consists only of the news of the day, but the news gives rise to remarks, and remarks give rise to observations and debates that often prove very interesting; with the men there is not even this resource, for they are too stupid even for this.

The women of this place are handsome and well made, but they have no colour, and their faces are not interesting. They are easy and lively in their motions, their gait, and their speech. They are more composed, more determined, and more manly than the French women, but not so heroic as the English. I cannot give you a better idea of them, than by telling you they are between French and English. There are no great beauties here, nor any very ugly women. They have not yet imitated our country-women in their winter-dress, which continues to be of Polanaïses, trimmed with very expensive furs, which reach down to the feet.

As these dresses have no high pockets, are open at the breast, and fall easily about the lower part of the body, they are favourable to the shape, and remind us of the Greek simplicity. A tinge of superstition, peculiar to the women of this place is united to great sensibility of heart, and rather tends to increase, than to repress love, friendship, and benevolence. Moore has made some good observations upon this subject, but nothing gives a better idea of the thing, than seeing a lady bespeak masses in a convent, and give alms, with a wish that God may recover her sick *Cicisbeo*.

The *Cicisbeat* is upon the same footing here as in Italy; it subsists amongst the great as a mode that has been once established; the poor take it up as a matter of trade; and it is only amongst the merchants and manufacturers that you meet with any instance of jealousy. I cannot forbear giving you a droll instance of the effects of this, which took place some years ago. A man of fashion having been rather too frequent in his visits to a rich tradesman's wife; the husband, who was displeas'd with the intercourse, took the following method of putting a stop to it: one morning, when he knew the lovers were together, he ordered all his servants to be in waiting with flambeaux on the stairs; he then stepped into the room, and told his excellency, that his

his servants were come to light him home; the other was exceedingly surpris'd, but affected not to understand him; upon which the merchant immediately took him by the arm, and led him very ceremoniously down stairs; here the servants, armed with their flambeaux, surrounded him on all sides, and led him into the middle of the street in broad day light; the tradesman in the mean time standing upon the steps of his house making bow upon bow, and under the pretence of recommending himself to the nobleman's custom, shouting out his name as loud as he could.

You seldom hear of any extraordinary instances of impropriety and indecency in this place.—Considering the state of the country, it is not extraordinary, that a taste for pleasure should be so prevalent as it is, it having certainly more food here than any where else. The number of poor is much smaller than at Paris, and, probably, than at London. Every thing, even the cloathing of the lowest servant-maid, bespeaks a great degree of affluence. The prodigality of the higher nobility, the many, and great appointments paid by the court, and the extensive commerce of the middling classes, greatly assists the circulation of money. The constant circulation of the town is estimated at twelve millions of imperial guilders, or 12,000*l.* sterling. The ex-
pence

pence of living is likewise less than it is any where else, and Vienna is probably the only town in which the price of the necessaries of life is not equal to the quantity of gold in circulation. This arises from the great want of money in the neighbouring Hungary. You have good wine here for three kreutzers the bottle, and a very good dinner for twelve. I know a *traiteur*, who, for thirteen sols a head, furnishes a *table d'hote*, consisting of vegetables, broiled meat, a pudding, or roasted calf's-liver, and beef; the bread and a gill of wine are included: in a word, the man with the *forty crowns* might live here very well, but if he has more, he will certainly be tempted to spend it. The more nature gives, the more necessities men make to themselves, and she is so profuse here, that they of course become so too. The infinite number of richly pensioned dependants of the court, the numerous nobility, and the many strangers who come here only for amusement, know no other pleasure, than to follow it wheresoever it leads. Riches, idleness, and the liberality of nature, must render a people dissipated, whose religion is the opposite to frugality, and whose governors cannot give their spirits any other occupation.

The commerce of this country is now extremely flourishing; but it was a long time before the Austrians knew how to enjoy the advantages
which

which nature had provided them with. Notwithstanding they were masters of one of the largest rivers in the world, which carries ships upwards of seventy German miles before it comes to them, and afterwards opens them a way into the Levant and Black Sea ; there was no spirit of trade among them till the last Emperor's time. It is true, Charles the Sixth had done what he could to promote this spirit throughout the whole of his dominions, but though his attempts had been successful in other places, he met with a disappointment in the dutchy of Austria and the capital, for the nobility of these places still considered merchants as a kind of brute beasts ; and the jesuits kept the protestants, who, in the sequel, did most for industry, either entirely at a distance, or were sure to crush them, when they found means to creep in. The court, in short, contracted many debts, and its credit grew too weak, to afford any substantial support to those who needed its assistance. The Emperor Francis, having restored the finances, was himself a merchant, and by degrees the nobility began to look upon the industrious merchant with a somewhat less degree of contempt. Still, however, a great deal was reserved for the present Emperor, whose popularity, and aversion to old prejudices, are in no instance more conspicuous than in this. He introduces ingenious artists
and

and merchants into the first societies. It is true, indeed, that those who think all merit consists in birth and external appearance, neglect nothing to make the plebeian feel he is out of his element ; but a word from the monarch sets all to rights, and the more the noblesse disturb themselves, the more Joseph is sure to take opportunities of humbling their pride. Some years ago, when he was at Prague, he came into a large company, leading a citizen's wife by the hand ; all the ladies immediately began to stare, but he took no farther notice of it, than by going down with her the only dance he danced.

After all, commerce would not be very flourishing, had not the clogs it was under, when the monarch's confessor was the director of all the departments in the state, been taken off, and were it not mostly in the hand of strangers.

The facility with which so many foreign families make large fortunes, is a public and striking instance of how much they surpass the natives in activity and understanding. The baron de *Fries*, the court banker, a *Mühlhause* by birth, who had no capital, has become, in an incredibly short time, one of the first bankers in Europe. He is worth at least four millions of guilders.—Most of the principal manufacturers and merchants come from Suabia, Franconia, Saxony, and

and other parts of Germany. The citizens of Nurenberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Lindaw, and other cities, met here with a refuge from the tyranny, which every day more and more obtains in their own countries. Most of them have made their fortunes by good sense, industry, and especially by that frugality which so essentially distinguishes them from the natives. There is no doubt, but that the strangers, and especially the protestants, will likewise make a flourishing place of Trieste.

With all this, however, trade is still far below what it might be; but it makes great strides every day. It is said, there are already above a hundred silk weavers looms in the place. There are also plush and cotton manufactures, and foreign trade is carried on with Austrian and Hungarian wines, Bohemian and Moravian linens, (which go by Trieste into Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey), wrought and unwrought iron, steel and copper, leather, china, and other articles; these produce several millions. All this the government protects so heartily, that it has always a fund ready for the encouragement of the enterprising and discreet projector. This fund it lends out without interest, for five, six, or even ten years, after which it receives interest gradually from one to two or three per cent.

From these beginnings great advantages are, no doubt, to be expected in the next generation, when, instead of being proud of their debts, the nobility shall deign to be in company with a rich trader, and instead of reasoning on a bill of fare, will converse with him on the profits of the year; but education must first be thoroughly reformed, for whilst it is trusted to French abbés and chambermaids, all that is done for trade is but patch-work.

There is bad news about town; a few days ago the Empress returned indisposed from a country expedition, and this indisposition is now become a serious disorder. The physicians fear an inflammation in the lungs, which from the frequent changes of the weather, is the common illness of this place. I hope to begin my next letter in better spirits than I finish this. Fare thee well.

L E T T E R X X I X .

Vienna.

IT is past, and the great Theresa, who, with all her weaknesses, was one of the greatest monarchs

narchs that ever sat on the throne, is no more.—I will say nothing to you of the grief of her subjects, nor of the pompousness of the funeral, nor of the mighty attendance that followed her to her grave; all these you will see in the public prints. It was well known that, either from the weakness natural to old people, or the apprehension that her successor might make innovations she disapproved, she had long looked upon death with some kind of fear and terror.—This made her wish to avoid it, as it drew near; but when she found this impossible, religion shewed itself in its full lustre, and, though conquered, the Empress was still the heroine. She conversed for several hours together with her son, and employed her cares about her family: To the last instant she was the best of mothers. The successor, on his part, though at the time of life when all the passions are at the highest, and though he felt himself on the eve not only of possessing a large empire, but of being free from the controul he had hitherto met with in his most favourite projects, was in this moment only a son. He forgot every thing else, and could only weep for a mother, with the value of whose heart he was acquainted.

The family affection that obtains in the imperial house is very remarkable. I must lay be-

fore you some passages that set this amiable princess's character in a very strong point of view.— No stranger to the pleasures of virtuous love, she wished her children to enjoy them, but would have them enjoy them in the bounds imposed by virtue and religion. With these views she had given a free consent to her daughter's marriage with a portioned prince of the house of Saxony, though contrary to the Emperor's inclination, who was afraid of the imperial house being burthened with too many dependants. Upon the same principle, when her son Maximilian was made coadjutor of the Teutonic order, and in consequence obliged to take a vow of chastity, she obtained a dispensation for him from the pope in case he should ever choose to leave the order and marry. Nor was it her fault that her other two daughters were not married, as nothing would have made her so happy as to see herself surrounded with a numerous train of grand-children. Another *trait* of the same kind was her retaining the truly maternal love of her children, however elevated or however distant they were from her. As a proof of this, she would frequently write both to the Queen of France and Naples, letters not only filled with the best of advice, but when there was occasion for them, with the tenderest motherly reproofs. She would often reprove the Emperor in company for trifles, after he had
come

come to the imperial crown. This authority, however, which she preserved over all her children to the last instant of her life, was so tempered with true affection, that it displeased none of those over whom it was exercised. Her happiest hours used to be those in which she received letters from the courts of Versailles, Parma, Naples, and Milan. Then she would shut herself up in her closet with her most intimate friends, and pour into their bosoms the pleasure of being the mother of so fine an offspring.

The archduke governor of Milan and the duke of Saxe Teschen, whom the Emperor is wont to call his very *dear* relations, will feel her loss very severely, as they cannot but suffer from the œconomy which the Emperor is so rigid a master of even towards himself.

Since the Empress's death is known, you may observe a wonderful change in the faces and actions of the priests and court attendants. The prelates, who a few days since rode over the bellies of the people in the streets, now sneak about chop-fallen, and the courtiers seem to be buried in thought how to pay their debts. But before I indulge myself in conjectures on what is to come, I will lay before you the present state of the country as the Empress left it.

The house of Hapsburg Loraine, now ranks as one of the greatest powers in Europe; the
only

only rivals of its greatness are Russia, France, and Great Britain; but at the beginning of this century, and till the time it belonged to the late Empress, it was one of the middling powers of Europe, and it required all the strength of England, and all the money of Holland, to support it, whenever it attempted to take any great part in business. Even at the time when the sun did not set in its dominions, it was not as formidable as it is now: at length the loss of so many kingdoms and provinces taught it, that the strength of a state does not so much consist in the quantity of its internal power, as in the uses it is able to make of it. A great man, who served it at a time when it was still in possession of Alfatia, Naples, Sicily, and several other countries, compared it to a pyramid, which stands upon its point, and totters by the weakness of its principal part. The pyramid is now something lighter, but it stands, as nature intended it should, on its own proper foundations, firm and unshaken.

If all the Austrian dominions lay together, they would contain a larger extent of country than France. Hungary, with Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Temeswar, and part of Dalmatia, contains 4760 square miles; Bohemia 900, Moravia, with part of Silesia, 430; the circle of Austria, Styria, and the Dukedom, with Carinthia, the Ukraine, the country belonging to Austria in Suabia, the Earldom of Falkenstein, the

the newly acquired part of Bavaria and part of Frioul, 2200; the Netherlands, 500; the possessions of Lombardy, 200; the kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria, together with Buckovina, which has been taken from the Turks, 1400; in all 10,360 square miles; whereas, France hardly contains 10,000. You will say, the difference is not very great—it is not; but when the expected junctions of Tuscany, and the Modenese are made, it will be worth attending to. As to natural blessings, they have been bestowed still more plentifully here than in France; for there are no luxuries to be met with in the latter which some countries belonging to the Emperor do, or may not produce, wine, oil, and silk not excepted; and as to matters of prime necessity, such as corn and cattle, they would be able to furnish half France with them, after providing their own people. The several ores too, which are found in the hills round Hungary, in the Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, are of as much profit to the country, as those of Portuguese and Spanish America to their possessors; so that if there was only such a sea coast as ours, and the country was improved to what it might be, no doubt it would be a fourth richer than France; but our fortunate situation, the water we command on all sides, and the navigable rivers, which carry out our exports from the most remote parts of the country,

country, give an advantage which is not to be disputed.

Hungary is, without doubt, the richest part of the Austrian dominions ;—it not only possesses every thing that is produced in the other countries, but feeds them with its overflow, and excels them as much in the quality, as in the quantity of what it produces ; but here we have great occasion to observe the truth of that axiom, that the more nature does for man, the less he commonly does for himself. The inhabitant of the Swiss mountains extracts his sustenance from his nakedness, and has changed wildernesses into cultivated and inhabited lands ; the Hollander has turned the muddy sands of the Rhine and Maese, what the sea is constantly disputing with him, into a garden, whilst the excellent grounds in Hungary still lie waste. I believe, that at Vienna, they think that the plenty Hungary is able to export, is owing to its population ; but it is not so ; for were it three times as much peopled as it is, it would export in much greater plenty still, if the cultivation was what it is in the greatest part of Suabia. As things now are, not only a great part of this fruitful land is uncultivated, but even that which is cultivated is not turned to near the advantage it might. In this country they know nothing of artificial cultivation, such as dunging
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in a cheap way, the mixture of different earths, and the use of chalky clay to manure, though parts of the country produce this last commodity in great abundance. They suffer, at least more than half the ground there is need for, to lie fallow. Their common way of threshing, is by driving oxen over the corn, by which half of it is left for straw. When you are travelling through this country, you think yourself going over a wild, though you are in fact upon a bottom, which with very little trouble would produce fifty, sixty, or even one hundred fold. The roads are of an immense breadth, and the fields adjoining them of so little value, that the postillions drive through them, without the least ceremony, whenever a little mud or rain in the high-way reminds them of its being more convenient.

The inhabitants excuse their bad farming by the little value which grain bears, and say, that if their harvests were ten times greater, they should gain nothing by them. There may be some truth in this, but the fault is certainly owing originally to a bad government. The value of grain would undoubtedly increase, with an increased population, and if the farmer had sufficient encouragement, the land might be put to other uses, besides the growing of grain. They already grow a great deal of tobacco, saffron, and

and other valuable articles ; but there are numberless others which might be produced, if, what you will scarce believe, government did not rather seek to discourage, than promote agriculture.

The exportation of the Hungarian wines, one of the richest products of the country, and which, if it were free, would soon ruin the sale of the French wines in the North, is clogged with innumerable obstructions. These the legislature imposes under the idea, that if once they did not exist, the trade of the Austrian wines would be ruined. The discouragement in consequence has been carried to such a height, that not long since there existed a law, that no quantity of Hungarian wine should be exported without exporting so much Austrian wine with it. This, no doubt, suits the Austrian nobility who have estates with vines upon them ; but it is feeding the little finger at the expence of the whole body ; for, as none but those who can afford to pay exorbitantly for their drink will buy the Austrian wines, the consequence is, that, except a few of the rich nobility, France supplies all the North, which otherwise would take its wine from Hungary. Nor does the evil end here ; the Hungarian peasant, who is oppressed by his lord, seeks to drown his sorrow in the cup, which he either makes himself, or can buy in

in most places for two, three, or four creutzer the bottle. The consequence of this is, that men who in their youth are plump, ruddy, and seemingly built for ever, grow pale, emaciated, and dwarfish, and begin to droop after thirty, so that the population is already much diminished, and would grow less and less, if it were not for the accession of foreigners. It is partly owing to this, and partly to the want of education, that many tracts of the country have the exact appearance of American lands, and, were it not that you see no scalps or enemies skulls to drink out of, you would often think yourself in company with so many Cherokees. The tax on Hungarian tobacco, when exported, is no less hurtful to the agriculture of this country. Certainly the farmers of this part of the revenue in the Austrian dominions ought to have it in command to import such a proportion of Hungarian tobacco, with all they import from other places.

There is no country in the world which has a greater variety of inhabitants than Hungary. The ancient possessors of the country were partly Tartars, and partly Sclavonians. Amongst the former we may reckon the Hungarians, now properly so called, the Cumanians, the Seclers and the Yatfigers. Their manners and appearance plainly shew that they are of kin to the Calmucks, and descendants of the old Scythians.

Their

Their deep eyes, angular cheek bones, and yellow skins, distinguish them from the Slavonians, who besides are whiter, more fleshy, and stouter built. There are several parts of the country in which both the races are continued pure and unmixed. The Slavonians consist of Croats, Bohemians (who originally are a branch of the Croats), Servians, Russians, and Wenden Polackers. There are besides German colonists, but if they choose to possess lands, they must buy their nobility for 2000 ducats, which make about 22,000 livres. Besides all these, there are Walachians, Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Gypsies, which last are the richest of all foreigners.

All these people, a few of the German colonists only, and the higher nobility, which is modelled after the fashion of the court of Vienna, excepted, are still in a barbarous state.

Indeed it must be owned that the court instead of succeeding in improving them, as it has done the rest of its subjects, has rather done them harm than good, by the attempts it has made for the purpose. Whilst they were left to themselves, they were warlike, and, like all the children of nature, whom a false policy has not spoiled, open-hearted, hospitable, frank, and steady to their promises. An old officer, who spent his youth among the Croats, has assured me, that they are
not

not to be known since they have been disciplined ; for, instead of being a trusty, spirited, and generous soldiery they are become a band of treacherous, tricking, cowardly robbers. ‘ I had much
‘ rather,’ said he, ‘ have had to do with them
‘ when they were entirely undisciplined, and un-
‘ der the influence only of their own laws and
‘ customs. It is true they plundered both friend
‘ and foe when we went into the field, and com-
‘ mitted every kind of depredation in the towns
‘ where they were quartered ; but these were the
‘ workings of a strong sensual appetite, which
‘ did not prevent their being of the greatest ser-
‘ vice. They used to take the most dangerous
‘ out-posts, in the very teeth of the enemy——
‘ never deserted——would follow their officers with
‘ the utmost fidelity through any dangers——could
‘ fast many days without making any complaints,
‘ and provided you left them what they had stol-
‘ len, which they did not affect to conceal, were
‘ indefatigable on a day of battle. The alterati-
‘ on which discipline has effected in them is,
‘ that they, indeed, steal no longer openly, but
‘ they steal secretly, and steal from each other
‘ whenever they can ; they have learned the
‘ methods of concealing their thefts, and are al-
‘ ways making cabals against their officers ; and
‘ though become too cowardly to desert when
‘ there is any danger attending desertion, they are
‘ sure

' sure to do it whenever they can with safety:
 ' They grumble whenever they are kept two days
 ' embodied in the field, and never put on their
 ' uniform without cursing it. They look upon
 ' their overseers as their enemies, and hate them.
 ' Formerly it was an unheard of thing, for a
 ' Croat to go over to the Turk, but now they join
 ' them to the number of 20 and 30, and plun-
 ' der their native country. The same thing is
 ' true with regard to the Slavonians; and even
 ' the rest have been rather hurt than bettered by
 ' regulations not adapted to their circumstances.'

What this gentleman said from experience is conformable to true philosophy; for it is only by religion that you can ever be successful in civilizing a barbarian. Any other attempt, any restriction which tends to cure him of his vices, without shewing him the advantage of virtue to himself, only makes a motley composition of the faults of the two states.

L E T T E R X X X .

Vienna.

NO doubt but there is much illusion in Rousseau's idea of a social contract. Fate, which plays

plays so many other games with us, throws us into some peculiar society, by which we are fettered before we have time to think of a contract. Accident, and iron hearted necessity, have been the true legislators, of all the monarchies, aristocracies, democracies, and their numerous subdivisions, that ever existed in the world. It is likewise certain, that upon the whole, we find ourselves better under the direction of capricious fortune, than if we had set down originally to bind and connect each other in eternal chains. The will of the strongest still remains the ultimate decider of all difficulties, and whatever covenants there might have been, it must have been so, as often as the strongest should have felt his weight, or his interest should have come in competition with that of others.

It is nevertheless true, that in these various galleys to which we are chained, the good of the whole cannot be better promoted, than when the will of the whole, or at least of the majority, are directed accordingly to the plumb-line of legislation, and of social contract. No Sultan has any thing to fear from this participation of his power, though he should divide it with all his subjects, from his Grand Vizier, to the lowest slave under him. The sovereign, whether he has one head, or a hundred, cannot promote his own interest more effectually, than by considering his
supreme

supreme will as the result of the enlightened wills of all, or the greater part of his subjects. A real opposition between the interests of the governor and his subjects never exists, when it seems to do so, it is only the cozenage of accident. All history is full of this truth, the attention to which, will effectually secure the people from tyranny, even when the private character of the sovereign is a cruel one. The prince can never be more secure from murder, treachery, and rebellion, than when he has convinced his subjects that their interest is the rule of his legislation, and it must be so, if he will not hurt himself. Interest is the most sacred band among men, and their happiness depends upon knowing what it truly is. The misfortunes of men have been always more owing to their governors not knowing in what their true interests consisted, than to their wickedness, or depravity.

Superstition, and the dissipation of princes together, first invented that species of politics, the principles of which Machiavel first collected, but did not invent. Nero and Augustus had already used it, but it was only in modern Italy that it was considered as a true art of government. From thence, with other arts and sciences, did this hostile art to human nature spread itself over the rest of Europe. The ministers of several European courts, which had formed themselves
after

after the Italian models, imagined they would govern the better, the finer and more subtle policy they adopted. Lewis XI. Richelieu, and Mazarin, were the great masters of this art, and from that time to this, the happy times of Henry IV. alone excepted, it would have been looked upon as folly in France, to have aimed at governing the people, by love, generosity, and information with regard to their true interests.

The priests, particularly the jesuits, whose government of their own society is established upon principles of the same kind, contributed much to give them currency in courts. There they were treated as holy mysteries, which, like the philosopher's stone, could make demigods of the possessor. Blinded by this political art of gold making, princes dared to deviate from the plain and strait line of nature, that line which always conducts to happiness, which is the same in a state as in a private family, according to which every governor must consider himself as the master of a private family, who has no other view than to promote the happiness of his children, and his servants.

The Jesuits, and some Italian *parvenus*, introduced the spirit of Machiavelism into this country. I do not know whether it is to be attributed to the humour of the nation, or any other cause, that it was not attended with the same bad consequences

quences here, as in Italy, France, Spain, and even England, where the grossest abuses of religion, friendship and love, were sanctified under the name of state necessity; and treachery towards friends, with the murder of fathers and brothers, were only considered as political *jeux d'esprits*. Although this court has not stained itself so deeply with royal blood, or even with that of dangerous subjects, as above mentioned, it must be confessed that its administration, particularly what relates to Hungary, has had some little appearance of cunning and oppression about it. No doubt but that religious prejudices, from which the Empress, amiable as she was, was not quite free, have contributed in great measure to this.

On the very aspect of things, one sees that the government of this country is insidious. The interests of the higher nobility are different from those of the rest of the country; their under tenants, which make the greatest part of the people, are not feudal subjects, neither have they any real property; they are farmers who may be turned out of their farms upon the least dissatisfaction. The nobility contributes nothing but free gifts to the necessities of the state, though it is in possession of half the produce of the country. It is almost the only order in the state, for the higher orders of the priesthood are chosen from

from the nobility, so that the interests of the two orders is in fact one. The cities are too small in number, and too insignificant in themselves to form any corps capable of making head against the other two. In short, the boasted freedom of Hungary is only a privilege of the nobility and clergy, to live at the expence of the whole country.

Hitherto, the court have tried every artifice to deprive the nobility of this pernicious preponderance. The contest between the sovereign and the nobles soon broke out into several rebellions, the most famous of which were those of Tekely and Ragotzki. The execution of Counts Serini, Nadaſti, Frangipani, and Settenback, which followed close, have been quoted by some, to shew, that the court of Vienna, though generally unwilling to recur to them, is not incapable of using Turkish measures to free itself of troublesome and dangerous dependants. I own I think that its conduct on other occasions sufficiently justifies it from these reproaches; and indeed, if the testimony of history is to be believed, it appears that these nobles were traitors. The plan which the court has followed for a long time, to reduce this overgrown nobility, promises much more success than any extraordinary acts of severity, which only serve to irritate the minds of men, and set them more upon their

guard. The court of Vienna, conscious of the influence, luxury and pleasure have over the minds of men, allured the proud Hungarians from their freeholds to the court, or to the city. By distinguished places, titles, and marriages, they gave them opportunities to spend their money in a brilliant way, to contract debts, and finally, by the seizure of their lands for the payment, to surrender at discretion. The deceived Hungarian looked upon it as an honour, to connect himself with the Austrian, who made a greater figure than himself at court, and took a greater share in the government of the country. For this purpose he chose his wife at Vienna, and fettered himself by this means. The lady too, by introducing the court manners into his house, finished corrupting him, and made him entirely dependant. There is hardly an Hungarian noble, at this time of day, that is either free from debt, or that does not, like the Austrian one, look upon his debts as an honour. The court has consequently no further commotions to fear in this country, as the discontented people will not easily find a leader with power and consequence enough to make their risings dangerous.— The dissipation of the Hungarians has also bound them to the court by another tie, as their necessities no longer allow them to serve for nothing, but make the pay of the court an object to them.

them. Another way that has been taken, has been that, of allowing the Austrian nobility to purchase Hungarian estates, in proportion as the owners were obliged to sell them, or, as they fell into the crown by forfeitures, &c. At this time of day, several amongst the first Hungarian nobility are Germans, who strengthen the influence of the court. The two nations are mixed, their manners are nearly the same. The more persons partake of it, the more indifferent the Hungarian is to its liberty, and the less estate he possesses, the less he cares for his country. The promotion of the higher ecclesiastics to great preferments, is another mode of binding the nobility, which the court has practised with success.

Besides what has been already stated, the court uses several other means, that depend upon time and circumstances. One of the most efficacious is, the loading the produce of Hungary with very heavy taxes. These oppressions indeed, immediately affect the nobility only, to whom the exports properly belong, as the people have no property; but, indirectly, they hurt the whole country, and particularly the manufacturer, and merchants in great towns, by the diminution of the coin in circulation. The duties on the exports of Hungarian wines, are so considerable, that the Croats who inhabit the mountains, are obliged

obliged to buy the wine, which, but for these duties, they might have as cheap from their fellow subjects, in Venetian Dalmatia. The fact is, the court had rather let the country lose money than suffer Hungary to be rich.

Almost all the employments of the country, which the constitution does not require to be given to natives, are possessed by Germans, who often prove the most terrible despots. Thus, in the cities of Illyria, which depend entirely on the council of war, and are entirely under military government, almost all the employments are held by foreigners. The Germans have made themselves so odious here by their tyranny, that the Croat knows no more odious name, than to give a man that of a Suabian. 'He is a Suabian', means with them every thing that is detestable and contemptible. Under the name of Suabian, the Croat, as well as the inhabitants of Vienna, includes every German, who is not an Austrian. The natives of Austria, who are sent into Hungary, behave there like Turkish Pachás, or Nabobs: their pride leads them to make the Hungarians feel, that they are the ruling nation; their dissipation compels them to use every extortion, to procure money; and they are made still worse than they otherwise would be, by the difference of their manners, and religion. It is from the oppression of foreigners, that the native
Illyrian

Illyrian has taken the dishonest and stubborn part of his character, which is so unnatural to him.

Notwithstanding that the principal places are occupied by great men, it is impossible to be more worthless than the greater number of the public servants are. Generally speaking, there is not a grain of patriotism, a grain of knowledge, a grain of good will, or a grain of activity, amongst them. Pride, vanity, self interest, and, hard-heartedness, distinguish them all. The only things they look up, are the pajs, and the titles, and they treat business as a matter of indifference. Do not imagine that I exaggerate, for I assure you that what I say is, with very few exceptions, literally true. The native Hungarians, who have a share in the government of their own country, have infinitely better understanding of the duties of their places, and more delight in discharging them, than the Austrians; and yet these possess almost all the places, and the others are exposed to their tyranny!

Our great Henry used to say, 'happy is the gentleman who has his 5000 a year, and does not know me.' If the Imperial court is desirous that the Hungarian should enjoy any kind of happiness, it is certainly not that recommended by the great Henry. They look upon it as indispensably necessary to bind them in court chains,

chains, and take away every feeling of liberty and true honour from them. They do all they can to stifle their national spirit; they have no idea of the honour of ruling over a free and sentimental people, but conceive they must make slaves of the whole nation, in order to govern it.

The most cruel violations of the national contract, and the liberty of mankind, have been those which have arisen on a religious account. I can safely affirm, that it would take two hundred years more to undo the mischief which this court has done itself, during the last two hundred years, by the religious persecutions in Hungary. It is, indeed, one of those contradictions which most feelingly bespeaks the debility of the human mind, that whilst the present administration, on the one hand, does all it can to promote population and industry in Hungary; on the other, it persecutes in every way possible, the most industrious parts of its subjects, and that part whose religious opinions are the most favourable to population.

One fourth of the inhabitants of the Hungarian dominions, in which I include Transylvania and Illyria, are Catholics; one fourth are Greeks, Jews, and Anabaptists; the other half are Lutherans, or reformed. From the circumstance of the religion of the country being Catholic,

lic, it was natural to expect that the Roman Catholic religion would be the established one of the state. With this no sensible man would have been offended ;—but to take away three hundred churches from the Protestants; while the Jews had the power of building as many synagogues as they pleased ;—to force Protestants to go twelve miles to church, whilst many Catholic churches were tenanted by rats and mice only ; —to take away the Protestant Schools, and yet to allow the parents to send their children abroad for education ;—to be eager after improvement in agriculture and industry, and yet rather see the land inhabited by Calmucks and Gypsies, than by laborious and moral Protestants ;—to treat these worse, in short, in every respect than the Turks or Jews, this certainly was pulling down with one hand, what the court was endeavouring to rear with another ; it was destroying the national character, without improving the external circumstances of the people. It is now well known, and the example of the English fully proves it, that the only way out of barbarism, is through real religion. Judge then what it must be to tread this road backwards, and to substitute the superstitious spirit of monkery, for the mild and industrious spirit of Protestantism. And yet the Austrian government *has* done this, and it has done it, at the very time

time when it was endeavouring to curb the power of the priests in the other parts of its dominions, and forming such establishments of education, as must sooner or later lead to Protestant principles.

The Protestants in Hungary are, it must be confessed, far behind their brethren in other countries, in industry and knowledge, and yet, notwithstanding this, and that they are only one fourth of the inhabitants of Hungary, they pay half the taxes, and are still much richer than their Catholic or Greek brethren. A striking sign, sure, if ever a striking sign there was, how much their religion corresponds with the good of the whole, and how little the court knows of its own interest. What the court has most hurt itself by, is its treatment of the Greeks, who form so large a part of the inhabitants of this country. Instead of rendering the priests of these semi-barbarians useful pastors, and thus enabling them to civilize their countrymen, and make them good members of society, all they have been solicitous about has been, now and then to convert an ambitious, or avaricious prelate, to the established church. The swarms which generally followed these deserters, commonly changed nothing but their name. From being Greek barbarians they became Catholic barbarians, or, as a respectable Austrian officer said, it was only adding

adding another mark to the forehead of the swine. In the mean time, the court troubled itself very little with the education of the Catholic, and united priesthood, and still less with that of the non-united, things which it is so much the interest of the legislature to attend to, as the surest means of improving the agriculture of the country, and promoting its exports

The Greek priests in Hungary, and Illyria, are exactly in the same state as the Roman Catholic priests were, in the time of Charlemagne, that great man, who laid the first grounds of national improvement in religion, and began his work with the priesthood. I doubt much, whether most of them can write and read, but I am sure they cannot reckon beyond three or four, without the help of their fingers, and know not the use of the pocket handkerchief. One of these shepherds of souls, a Macedonian by birth, who valued himself much on his knowledge of the Greek, and the reputation of his countryman, Alexander, took it into his head to instruct me, as a young man, in the history of the Trojan war. He told me that a Trojan prince, having run away with a French princess, the Greek and Roman Emperors, the King of France, and the seven Electors, went to Troy, and took the city, after an astonishing long siege, by means of a wooden horse filled with armed men.—The

man had heard the history by tradition, in Saloniki, or some other town of his ignorant country, but had not read a single old Greek author, or a single history. Notwithstanding this, he was looked upon as a wonder of learning by his colleagues. Spite indeed of their gross ignorance, these priests are held in greater veneration by the people than either oracles of Delos, or Delphi were. These are true privileged thieves, who never shew a spark of understanding but in the tricks they play to rob the people of the fruit of their soil; but are yet so convinced of their pretensions to the wool of their sheep, that they make no scruple of taking the head with it, if the patient animals will not suffer themselves to be sheared quietly. The catholic priests, who live at any distance from the large towns, are little behind the Greeks in ignorance, and ill manners,—nor are they far behind them, in shearing the sheep. Their whole library consists of their breviary, and the only thing they study is the Latin language. I happened to converse with one of them who is extremely respected in his own district, and really is distinguished for a better understanding, and better manners than the rest of them. The conversation turned on the German colonists who go into Hungary. I asked them how they treated them when they could not bear the climate. His answer was, ‘*Damus Illis*

illis licentiam repatriandi.'—And now I mention these Germans, I cannot help observing to you how extraordinary it is, that whilst a third of North America is peopled by these wandering Germans, whilst one half the inhabitants of the Cape, Batavia, and Surinam, (the two last some of the most unhealthy places any where to be found) are Germans, who thus cross extensive seas to break up waste lands, or to get hard bread in the capacity of day labourers; Hungary, which has work and bread for so many millions, should receive so few. Surely this must be owing to the prevalence of greater barbarisms than any poor priests barbarous Latin; for as to the pretended cause, unhealthiness of climate, Hungary is no more unhealthy than several other climates, and the natives know how to take precautions against the damps arising from the morasses. But the want of freedom in religion explains all; it is greatly owing to this cause that all the useful men emigrate, and leave Hungary only the worthless ones. The great fault of this government is, that they banish the Protestants, who are the most useful part of their subjects. These indeed have little desire to settle in a country in which they must often go journies of several days, to see a priest of their own persuasion, where they are not allowed to build a church, and where the hatred towards them and their religion, effectually and perpetually

ally excludes them from civil employments. All these hindrances are removed, under the gentle government of the Dutch and English, who of course run away with all the useful emigrants, and leave Austria only the worthless ones. The persons who settle in Hungary, are for the most part abandoned scoundrels from Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia, and the countries about the Rhine. On their arrival they commonly squander the small sums of money they have raised at home, by the sale of their estates, and as government takes little care about them, they generally die of grief, or disorders arising more from their dissipation than the climate. That part of them which happens to beg its way back again, represents the climate worse than it is, as an excuse for having left it. This also deters many people from coming. Those who have money enough, prefer America to Hungary, which by this means becomes the refuge of such only who have a few ducats to pay their passage on the Danube.

These, however, such as they are, would still be a considerable gain to so poor a country as Hungary is, if government was sufficiently interested in their fate, to provide for the distresses they must be exposed to, from the danger of the climate, and their own inexperience, and to give them some assistance in their first settlement. There should be an office established at Vienna,

or Presburg, where these wanderers should be taught the first rudiments of the arts they have occasion for. They should be told in what places they are likely to meet with most of their own countrymen, as nothing promotes colonization so much, as when the new comers find persons of the same manners and language with themselves, or with whom they are connected by the ties of friendship, or relationship. The Germans, as it is well known, are so divided amongst themselves, that those of one circle look upon those of another as absolute strangers to them. All the Bavarians should therefore be settled in one district, and the inhabitants of Franconia, Suabia, &c. in so many others. Above all things, they should be taught to guard against the dangers of the climate. Hungary is in itself not more unwholesome than Italy, Spain, the South of France, or any other warm country; only as there are morasses all over it, the difference betwixt the heat of the day, and the cold of the night, must of course be very sensible to a German; but he has nothing to do but to imitate the natives, who follow what instinct teaches them, and wear a warmer cloathing. The rich Hungary wines, likewise, destroy many a stranger, and they suffer still more from the very palatable, but dangerous melons, which are in such plenty that you may have them almost for nothing. Where the body

is constantly weakened by the influences of a very warm sun, these fruits must be very prejudicial, and the rather, as it is the custom here to eat them without bread. Against all these dangers and difficulties the emigrant should be secured.

The small sum of money which is given for the journey, is not sufficient to obviate these inconveniencies; on the contrary, the emigrants should have as little ready money as possible; as they cannot know how to make a proper use of it in a new country, they must consequently either be robbed of it, or waste it. What they ought to be supplied with is wood for building, cattle, and corn; and it should be the peculiar duty of the civil and religious ministers of the state, to assist them in their civil and religious necessities. It must be confessed, however, that the priests and governors of Hungary, are not the people fit for this business; for if the court was to be at this expence, they would take care to be themselves the greatest gainers by it; but the court has hitherto manifested too small a desire for the cultivation of Hungary, to bestow much expence upon it; its principle has been to reap all it could, without sowing any thing. If it had not been for this, what has been spent upon the conquest of a very small part of Bavaria, would have brought in ten times more, in a
much

much shorter time, by laying it properly out on the cultivation of Hungary.

The greatest source of confidence for a Hungarian patriot is, that this present King feels the connection betwixt his own interest and that of the state. That he knows how to value liberty, and mankind; is blinded by no prejudice, will not suffer his hands to be bound by any adherence to old customs, and has strength and resolution enough to attempt the Herculean labour of civilizing this important part of his hereditary dominions.

L E T T E R XXXI.

Vienna.

ITOLD you in my last, that the great Hungarian nobility live entirely according to our *ton*. Our fashions reach to the borders of Moldavia, and Walachia, and, from Presburg to Cronstadt, all that is called the fine world speaks out *patois*. Formerly they used their own language, at least to express common things, but every body now gives *dinè*s, *soupè*s, and *dejeunè*s. There are balls *parè* and balls *masqué*; every town with four or

five houfes in it, has its *afsemblies*, and *redoutes*. The men play whift, and the women wear *poudre à la Marechale*, and have vapours. The book-fellers fell Voltaire in feeret, and the apothecaries fell Mercury openly. The men have an *ami de la maifon* for their wives, and the wives a *fille de chambre* for their husbands. They have men cooks, and *maitre d'hotels*; they have ballets, comedies, and operas, and they have debts upon debts.

In the year 1740, when the Hungarian nobility took the field for their *king* Maria Therefa, the firft fight of fuch troops ftruck the French army with a panic. They had, indeed, often feen detachments of thefe *diabes d' Hongrie*, as they ufed to call them, but a whole army of them drawn up in battle array—unpowdered, from the general to the common foldier—half their faces covered with long whifkers—a fort of round beaver upon their heads inftead of hats—without ruffles, or frills to their fhirts, and without feathers—all clad in rough fkins—monftrous crooked fabres ready drawn and uplifted—their eyes darting flafhes of rage fharper than the beams of the naked fabres—was a fight our men had not been accuftomed to fee. Our oldeft officers ftill remember the impreflion thefe terrible troops made, and how difficult it was to make the men ftand againft them, till they had been accuftomed to their formidable appearance.

All this is now at an end, the Hungarian nobleman begins to leave off his long beard, and dresses much after the French fashion.

It is remarkable enough, that whilst in imitation of the Hungarian foldier, the Huffar has become an essential part of the Prussian army, and has also been received into the French regular troops, the true original is lost in his own country. Not one of the fourteen or fifteen regiments of Huffars in the emperor's service is made up entirely of Hungarians. Experienced officers have, it seems, thought such regiments could no longer be of any service; it may be so, but it is certain that the Hungarian has entirely lost his spirit by discipline, for, like other wild men, he detests the artificial arms against which his strength and courage are of no avail, and if ever he shews himself in his native fierceness, it is only when the firing is over, and he comes to close engagement. Here indeed the hero sometimes starts out again. But this was not enough to make the Hungarians a match for the Prussian Huffars in the Silesian war; on the contrary, they always proved inferior to them.—After all, however, if this last change had not been made, it is certain that the present nobility of Hungary could not bring into the field, and maintain such armies as were raised in 1740.

The Esterhazy, whose estate amounts to above 600,000 guilders a year, the Palefy, Schaki, Erdoby, Sichy, Forgatsh, Kohari, Karoly, &c. and many others, who have from 100,000 to 200,000 guilders a year, are unable, notwithstanding these large estates, to live within their incomes. The expences they have been put to, by the political alteration of manners of the last forty years, have reduced them to necessitous dependance. The court, however, does not look upon even this weakness as a sufficient security. The Hungarian regiments of infantry, amongst which there are likewise many Germans, and several regiments of Hussars, are constantly quartered in Bohemia, Moravia, and the German cities; on the contrary, several of the German regiments, particularly the heavy horse, and the dragoons, are quartered in Hungary. There is no province in the hereditary dominions of Austria, which has so many troops in it as Hungary has, in proportion to its population and exports. This may in some degree be owing to the cheapness of provision for man and horse. If it be so, in case of a war breaking out, on the confines of Germany, the court loses in a few weeks, what it has been saving by this policy for many years; for the forced marches which the cavalry are obliged to make to their places of destination, generally kill half the horses before they

they have got there. For my own part I have little doubt, but that the true motive of this allotment of troops are to make the Hungarians acquainted with the other members of the empire; to extinguish their natural spirit by the sight of numerous armies in every part of their country; to accustom them to subordination; and in some degree, perhaps, to increase the consumption of the country, and so promote the circulation of coin.

The English proceed upon a quite different plan; their principle is, to keep up as much as possible the national spirit of the troops, from an idea that the interests of the government are the same as those of the people, and that they have nothing to fear from a mutiny. Upon this ground it is, that their patriots have taken up a notion, which no doubt will soon be realized, of making every regiment provincial, by quartering it constantly in the county whose name it bears, and by suffering no man to be enlisted in it but those of that county; whence they think, a still greater degree of attachment to the native place will be produced. The Imperial council of war would not be pleased with a project of this kind. It considers it as a stated maxim of policy, to send the soldier as far as may be from the place of his birth, and to compose the regiments of men taken from various countries. Thus diffe-

rent causes have different effects, and John Bull, and Squire South, still act upon different grounds.

None of the Austrian hereditary dominions have a national militia, excepting only the Banat troops, or Illyrians; but these are only half soldiers, and their officers are at least for the most part Germans or Hungarians. In time of war, every Hungarian nobleman, in proportion to his estate, either raises a number of men, or sends the money for them to the war-department. These recruits seldom form separate bodies, but are incorporated with the rest of the army. Above all, care is taken that the soldiers should be free from all other ties, and only animated by the soul of the army, the wonder-working stick.

You must not however conceive this *palladium* of the Austrian army, this wonder-working stick, as the absolute *sine qua non*. A few years since, indeed, it ruled the great machine altogether; but now that it has been brought into regular movements, it is only looked up to with reverential awe and submission. According to a proclamation of the humane Emperor, the officers are to make as little *physical* use of it as possible. But as to *moral* purposes, it is in all its glory, and its idea takes place, in the common soldier, of all love of his country, all good humour, all sense
of

of honour, all hope of advancement, and every other feeling. All his occupations bring him back to this idea, and from his A, B, C, to his logic, all he knows is comprised in the two little words, *thou must*.

There cannot be a doubt, but in obedience, and strong subordination, the principal strength of an army consists; but is it impossible to unite them with any idea of feeling for self, in the subaltern and underling? Are sentiments of personal honour, of bravery, and of patriotism, entirely prejudicial to an army? Certainly not: and were it only to meliorate the condition of the poor soldier, were it only to make his hard fate less severe, it should be the policy of princes to promote those feelings which can sweeten so many bitter hours, and alone enable them to meet death.

With the power which Austria now possesses, it might at one stroke, cut off all the privileges of the Hungarian nobles, which are contrary to the good of the whole, and which it has been so many years endeavouring to undermine. A few hundred families would murmur for a few years, but the thing would not go beyond murmurs; the inhabitants of towns, and the peasants, would stand up for the interests of the court, which are their own. The religious animosities, which formerly served as a pretence for an insurrection,

rection, no longer blinds the people to their real good; and open, liberal treatment, would soon win over the nobility, whom the artifices now in use only alienate and corrupt. If once that part of their privileges, which militate against the good of the whole, were well defined, and suppressed by one single act of authority, they would then become susceptible of patriotic virtues; whereas, at present, they look upon the government as hostile to them, and do nothing but what they are compelled to by power or bribes. In that case, the multitude of the nation would not be the most abject slaves, nor the great the most cruel despots that are known. If, besides this, the court was to spend the sums necessary on establishments for education, and the priests of the several religions would endeavour to establish them without persecution, or partiality, in the next century, Hungary would be one of the most flourishing countries in Europe. The Hungarian would no longer be poor, in the middle of a country abounding with every necessary of life. The poverty of the people, and the excessive riches of the nobility, would no longer offend the eyes of the humane by the shocking disproportion between them. Then the court also would no longer object to the raising provincial regiments, as it would be consistent with its interests. The lively Croat, or
Hungarian,

Hungarian, animated by the love of his country, and a sense of duty, would no longer refuse to submit to proper discipline; all the army would be inspired with a spirit, which discipline, alone cannot give, but which united to discipline, is the strongest security for terror abroad, and happiness at home.

The Hungarians, in general, are extremely proper for a military life; they want nothing to be perfect soldiers, but the kind of education which a good government might give them. The Croats particularly have all the requisites for service. Their mean height is six feet; they are bony, fleshy, quick, and lively, and can bear the extremes of cold and hunger. In a word, there are no better made men in Europe, notwithstanding which, they are the most miserable part of the Imperial army; a sure sign that government either neglects them, or does not know how to discipline them properly. Sometimes it has been proposed to incorporate them with other corps, but this would only be to take away their natural advantages, and furnish them with artificial ones in their stead. Such a change would put an end to their usual way of life, to which they are indebted for their hardiness. They commonly dwell six or seven families under the same roof. As their frugality enables them to bring up many children, they marry early,

early in the vigour of their youth, and their children are the produce of their unimpaired manhood. Their juices are still uncorrupt, and the destructive distempers which poison the sources of life, are not yet introduced amongst them. The patriarchal government still subsists amongst them, and the grandfather, who has grown old amidst his children and grandchildren, still retains an authority over them. As by this means their manners are preserved uncorrupt, nothing more is requisite than to humanize their priests; this would render them useful subjects to the state, without commerce, manufactures, or arts, which the court has lately endeavoured to introduce amongst them, in my opinion not to their advantage. An education more suitable to the nature of their country, and their peculiar constitution, would by degrees deprive them of their natural ferocity, and they would become the more tractable, in proportion as they acquired better notions of religion, agriculture, and the other things connected with their well being. Their ferocity, the natural consequence of their barbarity, is the true reason why they are so averse to discipline, and the only way of getting the better of this, and making them like the other subjects of the house of Austria, fit for military service, is domestic education: this alone can bring them out of their barbarity,
without

without depriving them of their other advantages.

Suppose the new court was to adopt the other plan, and incorporate them with the other troops, suppose it was to make slaves of them in the best years of their lives, and when the voice of nature crieth most loud, what would be the consequence? Accustomed to all the vices which obtain in a standing army, they would consume the vigour of their lives in pernicious indulgencies; they would return to their native country corrupted with a variety of wants they did not know before. Having acquired a taste for the pleasures of forbidden love, they would either not marry at all, or marry later than their ancestors; all their domestic ordinances would be abolished, nor would their wives be any longer distinguished for their chastity. Their children would imitate them in their vices, and the consequence of all would be, that in the second generation you would hardly be able to distinguish them; and in the third, or at most, the fourth, not know them at all from the other subjects of the empire, so totally would they have lost the size, strength, frugality, and fine form, which now so eminently distinguish them. To attempt the change proposed, would be taking a dangerous leap from barbarous to civil life, and all that
could

could be expected from it would be a broken limb, if not a broken neck.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

Vienna.

I HAVE given myself all the trouble possible to come at an exact estimate of the goods annually exported from, and imported into Hungary, and by that means to acquire a tolerable idea of the national riches ; but the receipts of the customs, the only ones by which you can form a good judgment, are either so imperfectly or so secretly kept, that there is no depending upon them. All I can therefore say upon the subject must consist of report and conjecture.—I was assured then by a creditable man, that the exports amounted to twenty-four, and the imports to eighteen millions a year, making a balance of six millions in favour of the country. With respect to the exports, I can say nothing upon them with certainty, for the reason I have just given ; they are, indeed, greater than I could have imagined, even from the positive calculations I have been able to make, but if we compare

pare

pare the exports and imports, we shall find it is impossible but that the former should be stated too high; for with such a balance of trade as Hungary must by this means have, it ought to be one of the richest countries in Europe, whereas nothing is scarcer than money in this country. Of the twenty millions of revenue which Hungary, together with Transylvania and Illyria contributes to the state, three at the most come to Vienna, and the sums which the few noble families that reside out of it carry from the country, are replaced by what foreigners in employment spend in it; many millions therefore must remain in Hungary, and if to these are added, such a balance of trade as I have stated, supposing it only to have continued five years, the country must be much richer than it is.

If we consider a little the variety of commodities which Hungary must import from abroad, it is impossible it should have even an equal trade; it is obliged to purchase almost all the productions of art, besides an astonishing number of those of nature. Clothes alone cost four or five millions of florins per annum; wrought silks, linens and cottons as much more; coffee and sugar must at least come to two millions and a half; tin, glass, colours, and drugs, must cost them annually many millions. In this estimate we do not take in toys of every kind; foreign
wines

wines for the liquorish palates of the great men, who cannot be contented with the admirable produce of their own vineyards; foreign horses; coaches, harnesses, and a great many other foreign articles. The quantity of the natural productions, which Hungary, on the other hand, gives the stranger, cannot come up to any thing like the sums these articles must cost. According to a rough calculation I have made, Hungary exports the value of about five millions and a half of oxen, swine and horses, four millions of corn, hay, &c. three millions of wine, half a million's worth of tobacco, silk (mostly from Sclavonia), citrons, chestnuts, and other fruits; and some millions of minerals, especially copper; so that if I set the exports at sixteen, and the imports at eighteen millions, it will be much nearer the truth.

I do not think I do Hungary any injustice by thus stating its expences at two millions; its situation, and the nature of its government, prevent it from making all the use possible of the rich treasures it possesses; and the high degree of luxury which obtains in all orders prevents its owing to its own industry several articles which it procures from the stranger, though it might prepare them itself. Having just told you the great sums annually paid for clothes, it will perhaps astonish you to hear, that there is no country

try in Europe fitter for breeding sheep than this is. Prince Eugene, who was as great a judge of political improvements, as he was a general, perceived this, and having procured sheep from Arabia, gave himself all the trouble possible to propagate the breed in the country of Ofen.—The Emperors Charles, and Francis, made many wise regulations for the same purpose ; but hitherto it has been unsuccessful. The nobility who possess almost all the lands, are too proud and foolish to attend to agriculture ; the farmers have no property, and the inhabitants of the towns are depressed by religious persecutions.

The negligence of the police in not stemming the torrent of luxury is inconceivable. I have often been tempted to believe, that government did not think it worth its while to attend to the circumstances of this country, either because it did not yield in proportion to its greatness, or that the impetuous temper of the court was such, as not to allow of any establishments that were to produce fruit in after ages : be this as it may, whether the court is all for present enjoyment, or has not political wisdom enough to erect for futurity, the instances of its neglect are most glaring. I will lay one of them before you :—Notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the country, they allow the Jews to go about with coffee,

coffee, sugar, tobacco, oil, and quack medicines of all kinds, from village to village, where they sell them in small quantities, and much adulterated.

The climate of the southern parts of Hungary is extremely favourable to the growth of silk ; but except in Slavonia, which is not improved as it ought to be, there grows none, notwithstanding the example of their neighbours the Venetians, and the facility of procuring mulberry trees from Italy. The only art which is carried to any degree of improvement is that of mining. Here all that mathematics could do has been adopted. You would be astonished at the sight of the machines in use to clear the water from the pits, and to carry on the other necessary operations. The gold and silver mines of Kremnitz and Schemnitz produce but little to the crown, owing to its keeping part of them in its own hands, and not farming the whole. There are other gold and silver mines in the country, but those of Transylvania excel them all at present, and promise to do still more so in future. —I believe, however, that the court gets much more by the copper than it does by the gold and silver mines, especially since the custom of sheathing the men of war with copper has prevailed. Hungary is able to furnish all Europe with copper ; upon the whole, half of the four
 millions

millions of florins which the country gets by its mines comes from Hungary.

The country has an extraordinary appearance; it is inclosed on all sides with high hills, in the midst of which are plains, which you may travel through for some days without perceiving the least elevation. You meet with immense deserts, in the midst of which, as in those of Tartary, are wild horses.——The woods are filled with wolves, an animal scarce ever seen in Suabia, Bavaria, or Austria. Near the banks of rivers, in the plains, there are morasses, which here and there form lakes; the drying up of these will be a great advantage to the country, by making its rivers navigable, adding great quantities of land to it, and purifying the air. The beasts are all very different from those of Germany; the horses are small, light, and not handsome, but uncommonly lively and strong; a Hungarian uses only three or four in going from Vienna to Turkey, in a constant trot or gallop; their breed has been greatly improved in the studs of the nobility, in several parts of the country. The oxen are the largest and most beautiful I have ever seen; they are all ash-colour, or white, and I do not recollect to have seen a red or brown one in the whole country; their flesh is remarkably well tasted; even the poultry, are distinguished from those of other countries by their size and

shape : In short, all that has breath here, attests, either by its growth or its agility, the wonderful vigour of nature.

The artificial appearance of the country is as remarkable as the natural. In one place, perhaps, you see palaces upon which art has exhausted all its magnificence, and within a few paces you come to countries where men dwell in caverns under ground like the wild beasts.— At Presburg, Port, and Offen, which are the largest cities in the country, and each of which contains 30,000 men, you believe yourself in the most enchanting country in the world ; and within a few miles of their gates, you seem to be in Mingrelia.

The strongest proof possible, that the country is miserable, is the contrast of extreme poverty with extreme riches, and the more striking that contrast is the greater is the misery. A people may be very poor, and yet very happy ; but when amidst straw huts, which hardly protect their inhabitants from wind and weather, you see marble palaces towering to the clouds, when in the midst of immense wildernesses tenanted by miserable skeletons, who hardly find roots in the fields to keep body and soul together, you meet with gardens with fountains in them, grottos, parterres, terrasses, statues, and costly pictures ;

It is a sure sign that one part of the inhabitants live by pillaging the rest.

Not long after my arrival here, I made a party of pleasure to the castle of Count Esterhazy, which lies at about a day's journey from Presburg. Without a doubt, you are already acquainted with it from Moore's travels. There is no place in France, Versailles alone excepted, so magnificent as this; the Castle is immensely large, and full of every sumptuous article of expence that can be conceived. The garden contains every thing that human wit has invented for the improvement, or, as you may call it, the perversion of nature. The pavilions of all kinds appear like the habitations of so many fairies, and every thing is so much above what you meet with in general, that you think you are dreaming when you behold it. I shall not attempt to give you an exact description of what I saw here, but must, however, observe, that to the eyes of one, who does not profess himself a connoisseur, there appeared to be somewhat too much. I recollect, that the walls of a *Sala-Terrina* were painted with figures twelve feet high, which to a son of the earth, as I am, appeared much too lofty for the size of the room. I know how much you are for the great style, and remember all you used to din into my profane ears about the fine forms of the Roman

school, but yet, I think if you had been here, you would have thought this rather too great a style.

What renders the magnificence of this place still more striking, is the very extraordinary contrast of it with the country round. The lake of *Neufiedler*, which is not far from the castle, forms a large morass, which extends for the space of several miles, and threatens in time to lay the great edifice under water, as it has already done great part of the country, which was formerly very productive. The inhabitants of the country round have the appearance of so many ghosts, and are regularly plagued with agues every year. About half the money which the prince has laid out in beautifying his castle, would not only have been sufficient to drain the fens, but would have taken as much land again from the lake. As this is ever upon the encrease, there is great reason to fear it will entirely overflow the low country: the only way to prevent this, will be by making a canal to communicate with the Danube, an enterprize which would do the prince more honour than all the trifles he has been about. Within less than a day's journey from the castle, on the other side, you will meet the Kalmucks, Cherokees, Hottentots, and inhabitants of *Terra del Fuego*, in all their several occupations and situations.

Unwhole-

Unwholesome as the country is, particularly in spring and winter, and though the Prince himself has the ague very often, yet is he thoroughly satisfied, that there is not a finer, or more wholesome spot under the sun. His castle stands quite alone, and he sees nobody but dependants, or strangers who come for the purpose of admiration. The Prince has a puppet-show theatre, which is really extraordinary in its kind, for the puppets perform whole operas. You really do not know whether you should wonder or laugh most, when you see the *Didone*, the *Alceste*, *Bivio*, played throughout by puppets.—The Prince's orchestra is one of the best I have yet heard. The great Haydn is his composer; and he has got a poet, who is often very fortunate. The scene-painters too are distinguished men; in a word, the thing itself is little, but all the appendages are very great. The Prince often hires a company of strolling players, and keeps them for a month to play to him, and his servants compose all the audience. These gentlemen appear upon the stage with their hair about their ears, and the dresses it pleases sporting fortune to furnish them with at the time; but it all does very well, for the Prince is not fond of grand tragic movements, but on the contrary, delights in any extempore pieces of wit, which these gentlemen may strike out, or which may

be struck out for them. This Prince has also a body-guard, composed of very fine men.— I was very sorry that I could not see the famous Haydn, who was gone to Vienna to conduct a large concert. It is said, the Prince has given him permission to make a journey to England, France, and Spain, where he will be received as his merits deserve, and get enough to come home with his purse well filled. He has a brother, who is *Maestro di Capella* at Strasburg, a man of as much genius as Haydn himself, but who has not industry enough to arrive at the same degree of reputation.

L E T T E R X X X I V .

Vienna.

I SHOULD not have said so much of Hungary, had I not recollected, that you consider it as an unknown country. What I have to say of the other parts of the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria will be so much the shorter.

Austria, properly so called, has throughout the appearance of a happy country; here are no
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signs of the striking contrast betwixt poverty and riches, which offends so much in Hungary. All the inhabitants, those of the capital only excepted, enjoy that happy mediocrity, which is the consequence of a gentle and wise administration. The farmer has property ; and the rights of the nobility, who enjoy a kind of lower judicial power, are well defined. The south and south-west parts of the country are bounded by a ridge of hills, the inhabitants of which enjoy a share of prosperity, unknown to those of the interior parts of France. I saw several villages on the banks of the Danube, whose inhabitants dwelt in stone houses. A sure sign of their well-being, is their eating meat almost every day, and roast meat once or twice a week. There are many villages and market towns, the inhabitants of which have bought themselves off from vassalage, are now their own governors, and belong some of them to the estates of the country ;—amongst these is the beautiful town of Stockeraw, about which is one of the prettiest countries I have yet seen. The cloysters, the prelates of which belong to the estates of the country, are the richest in Germany, after the immediate *prelacies* and *abbacies* of the empire.

The cloysters are some of the richest in Germany. One of the great convents of Benedictines is worth upwards of four thousand millions
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of French livres, half of which goes to the exchequer of the country. A monk of this cloyster, with whom I was conversing on the state of religion, endeavoured to convince me of its decrease since the reign of Charles VI. by telling me, that in those times they paid only five or six thousand florins to the state, whereas now they pay near ten times as much. There are no great hopes that this thermometer will stand still under the present emperor; on the contrary, it is rather to be feared that it will fall to nothing; Klosterneuburg, Polten, Gottevaich, and some other prelacies, are as warm as that I have just mentioned.

Lower Austria yearly exports more than two millions worth of guilders of wine to Moravia, Bohemia, Upper Austria, Bavaria, Saltzburg, and part of Styria and Carinthia. This wine is sour, but has a great deal of strength, and may be carried all over the world without danger; when it is ten or twenty years old it is very good. Notwithstanding this, however, all this trade would be knocked up at a blow, if the exportation of the Hungary wines was not restrained by severe prohibitions.

These limitations, of which I have said something to you in a former letter, make part of a plan, which was probably originally devised by the priests, and which the nobles have helped them

them to make perfect. It is an ancient law, that the peasant shall introduce no alterations on his estate. He is not allowed to root up his vines and turn his land to tillage or pasture. There is no doubt, but this extraordinary law took its rise from the tithes paid to the clergy; as these were always to be paid in kind, they of course opposed every degree of alteration. Were the law now to be altered, many estates would certainly lose a great deal by it, but others would be increased in proportion; for instance, a great number of the saffron fields, the cultivation of which is always troublesome and expensive, would be turned to other and better purposes. Even in Krems, where the best saffron grows, the inhabitants complain exceedingly of being obliged to cultivate this commodity. There are likewise several other articles, such as flax, hemp, tobacco, and the like, which the farmer might grow were it not for this prohibition, which also prevents him from taking, the advantage of the markets, and varying the produce of his land in proportion as the value of the things changes. With regard to agriculture itself, every species of prohibition is detrimental; all that the legislature has to do is to remove natural obstacles; when this is done nature will do the rest of herself. This country is very well peopled. Mr. Schloffer, in his political journal, which contains an account of the population of Austria,

Austria, estimates that of this country at 2,100,000 men. For my part, I consider this estimate as much too large; but the fact is, that partly from the ignorance, and partly from the pride of people here, who love to swell and magnify every thing that belongs to the country, it is extremely difficult to get at the truth. A stranger, however, who has been here some time, and has studied whatever belongs to the country very accurately, assured me that the population of Upper and Under Austria together did not amount to more than 1,800,00 men. If you include the inhabitants of the capital in the number, still this will be a very considerable population.

The revenue of this country is about 14,000,000, of florins, of which the city of Vienna contributes above five, as one man in the capital earns as much as three in the country.

The southern parts of Austria are covered with hills, which rise gradually from the banks of the Danube to the borders of Stiria, and are covered with woods. They lose themselves in the mass of mountains which run to the south of Germany, and stretch through all Stiria, Carniola, Carinthia, and Tyrol, to the Swiss Alps, and are probably after Savoy and Switzerland, the highest part of the earth.

The inhabitants of this extensive ridge of mountains are all very much alike, they are a strong,

strong, large, and, the *goitres* excepted, a very handsome people. The people of Tyrol, whom I visited in an excursion from Munich, distinguish themselves by their diligence. Some drive a trade with figures made of stucco as far as Holland; others make works in stone and wood for the churches; another part of them travel through Germany with Italian wares and fruits, and bring home a large quantity of money. A fourth set deals in quack drugs, salves, wonder-working pills, essences, tinctures, &c.

Notwithstanding its woods and the hills covered with snow, Tyrol is well inhabited and well peopled. It contains about six hundred thousand souls, and pays the state about three millions of florins. The silver and copper works at Schwafs are one of the most profitable things in the Emperor's hereditary dominions, and the salt works at Halle yield annually about three hundred thousand florins.

Inspruck is a fine city, containing fourteen thousand inhabitants. Boffen is the most considerable after this. They had formerly very fine fairs, but these have been entirely ruined by the customs; all Tyrol complains of, and curses the customs.

The Carinthians excel the other inhabitants of these mountains in strength and size. They are like their horses, which are reckoned the strongest

est in Europe, and never tire. Their bread is made of maize; and their land produces the best steel known, which the English use for their finest works. The population consists of four hundred thousand souls. The inhabitants of Carinthia, Gortz, and the Austrian Istria, may be set at five hundred thousand. Stiria contains about seventy thousand inhabitants. Gratz, the capital, is a fine city; there are persons in it who have from thirty to forty thousand florins income, and the luxury that prevails is not to be described. They have four regular meals, viz. at morning, noon, evening, and night. Ducks and chickens are the ordinary food of the common citizens. They made me almost sick only with the sight of their pasties, tarts, ragouts, &c. They talk of nothing but the kitchen and the cellar; and, their attention to the preparation of their dinners only excepted, do not seem many degrees above orang-outangs. The other luxuries are in proportion. This is the great mart for all indecent and irreligious books. Hence they are exported into the rest of the country. You find villages in Tyrol entirely inhabited by flatuaries; they will, however, always be more famous for their capons than their learning. You may have a capon here for twenty creutzers, a pair of fine chickens for ten or twelve, a bottle of very good wine for twelve, and a pound of
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rye bread for one. Gratz and the suburbs contain about thirty thousand inhabitants.

The country is cultivated to the top of the highest hills. Though pasturage is the principal business of the people, the land produces corn enough to nourish its numerous inhabitants, or if there is ever the least want, they are supplied from Hungary almost for nothing. The flax and hemp, which have been introduced here, as well as in Carinthia, are extremely good, and produce very large sums. The mines employ a great number of people, and as they are worked very cheap answer extremely well. Indeed the whole of the country is favourable to this kind of business. The hills are covered with wood, which in general costs no more than the expence of cutting down and transporting to the place it is to be used in the furnaces. Sometimes too it is floated by the rivers without any expence of transporting at all. The numerous brooks in the valleys afford opportunities of erecting the furnaces near the pits, so that every thing contributes to save expence. The best mineral of the country is iron, of which they make an excellent steel.

The numbers of those who have the *goitre*, and the size of it, is more remarkable in Stiria than in Carinthia, Ukrania, or the Tyrol. Some think this disorder owing in part to the snow and
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ice water, and in part to the particles of earth and stone with which the wells of the country are impregnated. Others will have it, that it arises from the custom of seasoning the meat a great deal, and drinking cold water afterwards. I beg leave to add a fourth cause, and leave all to operate together for the production of this phenomenon. The cause I mean is the cold, to which all the inhabitants are exposed. You know that the solar rays, being reflected on all sides by the hills which encompass the valleys, occasion an extraordinary heat. I recollect, as I have been wandering through narrow valleys, to have breathed an air so glowing, that it seemed to come from a furnace. Whenever, therefore, there is the least motion in the air, the pressure will make it more sensibly felt than on higher vales or hills, where it can expand more; the cold is consequently greater. Now as these people commonly go with their necks and throats bare, whenever there is a cool current, the weak part of the throat is the first attacked by the moisture, and the perspiration there is stopped.

It is an observation which has been made in Valois, Savoy, and other countries, that the inhabitants of the lower vallies are more exposed to this evil, than those who live higher up. This, no doubt, must be owing to the more frequent changes of air in the low grounds, where-

as higher up it always continues cool. There are also a kind of idiots in this country, who can hardly speak, and are only fit for the labours of the field. Their number is great, and the neglect with which they are treated, whilst they are young, may probably have tended to increase their stupidity.

All the inhabitants of these hills are freemen, who have long since shaken off the feudal yoke, under which the greatest part of Europe still groans. The marks of their freedom are very visible, for, ill as this country has been treated by nature, in comparison with its neighbour Hungary, it is every where much better cultivated, and more populous than the latter. When you see the farmer here force his nourishment from the almost bare rocks, and think of the beautiful plains in Hungary that lie waste and uncultivated, the value of property and liberty strikes you in its full force. These countries and Austria are not half as large as Hungary, and yet they not only yield a much greater revenue than that does, but there is an appearance of easy circumstances throughout, of which the Hungarians have no notion. O that governors would but see how much the interest of the governed is united with their own!

The characteristic of the inhabitants of all this country is striking bigotry, united with striking

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ing sensuality. You need only see what is going forwards here to be convinced, that the religion taught by the monks, is as ruinous for the morals as it is repugnant to Christianity. The *Cicisbeos* accompany the married women from their beds to church, and lead them to the very confessional.—The pilgrimage to Mariazell is a ceremony half religious and half profane, with which the ladies of Gratz are highly delighted. Their lovers generally accompany them there; in short, it is to the people of this country, what Bath, and the other water-drinking places, are to the rest of Europe. A friend of mine had the honour to accompany a lady who went there with her lover. As it was expected that the next day, being the feast of the Virgin, there would be great crowds at confession, the lady was asked, whether it would not be better to expedite matters over night: ‘No,’ answer’d she, ‘for if I do, I shall have to confess again to-morrow morning, before I can go to the sacrament with a pure conscience.’ She was pressed to anticipate a confession, but this it seems would not do. The women of fashion make no more scruple of speaking of their lovers in public companies than those of Vienna do. A *cicisbeo* is, it seems, as much the fashion, as Hungary water. The women of this place are not like the French ones, who let their lovers languish a great while;

on the contrary, they are easily gained. Their lovers are chiefly officers, or high churchmen, between which orders, on this account, there is a constant rivalry and jealousy.

The bigotry of the public in these parts, which, from the mixture of gallantry with it, is still to be found even amongst people of rank, degenerates amongst the common people into the grossest and most abominable buffoonery. The *Windes*, who are mixed with the Germans in these countries, distinguish themselves by a superstitious custom, that does little honour to the human understanding, and would be incredible, if we had not the most unequivocal proofs of the fact before our eyes. Many years ago, they set out, in company with some Hungarian enthusiasts, to Cologne on the Rhine, which is about one hundred and twenty German miles distant to cut off the beard of a crucifix there. Every seven years this operation is repeated, as in this space of time the beard grows again to its former length. The rich persons of the association send the poorer ones as their deputies, and the magistrates of Cologne receive them as ambassadors from a foreign prince. They are entertained at the expence of the state, and a counsellor shews them the most remarkable things in the town. I know not whether we ought to laugh most, at the remote town of Cologne, or

at those poor peasants. There is, indeed, some excuse for the former, as the farce brings in large sums of money at stated times, and may therefore deserve political encouragement, but still, however, it is the most miserable, and meanest way of gain that can be imagined. These *Windes* have alone the right to shave our Saviour, and the beard grows only for them. They firmly believe, that if they did not do this service to the crucifix, the earth would be barren for the next seven years, and there would be no harvests. For this reason they are obliged to carry the hair home with them, as the proof of having fulfilled their commission, the returns of which are distributed amongst the different communities, and preserved as holy reliques. The Imperial court has for a long time endeavoured in vain to prevent this emigration, which deprives agriculture of so many useful hands. When the *Windes* could not go openly, they would go clandestinely. At length the court thought of the expedient of forbidding the regency of Cologne to let them enter the town. This happened six years ago, and the numerous embassy was obliged, to beg its way back again without the wonderful beard, (which, without doubt, the capuchins, to whom the crucifix belonged, used to put together from their own). In future, they will not, most probably, run the danger of travelling

ling so far for nothing. I do not hear but that, since this accident, the corn has come up as well as it did before; but whether the beard is still growing, or not, I cannot say.—I could give you still more striking traits of the superstition of the inhabitants of the inner parts of Austria, but as this surpasses them all, it may serve as a sufficient measure of human understanding in these parts. The trade which the monks carry on with holy salves, oils, &c. is still very considerable; a prohibition of the court, lately published, has rather lessened it, but it cannot be entirely suppressed till next generation. It is now carried on secretly, but perhaps to nearly as great an amount as formerly.

L E T T E R XXXV.

Vienna.

AS there were some of the provinces of the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria which I did not visit, you must content yourself with such accounts of their population and commerce, as I have been able to collect, partly from public papers, and partly from conversations with sensible men. In order to give you an idea of their comparative merits, we will first cast our eyes upon the whole. Mr. Schlosser, whose useful letters I have already mentioned, and shall have occasion to speak more of hereafter, gives a list of the respective populations of the Austrian monarchy, according to which, the whole amounts to twenty-seven millions. I fancy he is now convinced himself that his correspondent saw the subject of Austria through a magnifying glass. As several parts of this list have been amended from better accounts: thus, for instance, in Austrian Poland and Bukowina, they now reckon only 2,800,000 souls; whereas, in the first list, they were reckoned at 3,900,000.

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The first number of these *Political Letters* contains another list, which seems to me to approach much nearer to the truth ; for though the population of particular parts may be laid too high, this is made up for, by the omission of the particular provinces of Illyria and Bukowina, which are entirely left out. The following list I have, in a great measure, from the best hands :

Hungary, with the now annexed	}	5,400,000 souls
Temeswar - - -		
Illyria - - -		1,400,000
Transylvania - - -		1,000,000
Austrian Poland, together with	}	2,800,000
Bukowina - - -		
Bohemia - - -		2,100,000
Moravia - - -		1,000,000
Silesia - - -		200,000
Upper and Lower Austria, and Styria		700,000
Carniola, Ukrania, Gorts, and Istria		1,000,000
Farther Austria and Falkenstein -		300,000
Tyrol - - -		600,000
Netherlands - - -		1,800,000
Lombardy - - -		1,200,000
		<hr/>
		19,500,000

I will not insist upon it that this list is so accurate as to make it a great violation of truth to give round numbers, and state the whole at twenty millions ; but I would not believe in
more

more than twenty millions, if all the privy counsellors in the empire said it together.

It only requires eyes to see, that the territories of Austria are not so well peopled throughout as France is. The difference in the size of the two countries is inconsiderable. How then is it possible that Austria should be as well peopled as France (which hardly contains twenty-four millions), when the greatest part of it has no considerable manufactures, and, in great part of Hungary and Poland, there are not even hands to do the necessary work? Agriculture, in however flourishing state it be in a country, does not render it as populous as manufactures do. The sphere of the former is contracted, that of the latter not. You would fill a large tract of country with the men who inhabit one of our large manufacturing towns. But, besides this, the agriculture of Hungary and Austrian Poland, which make above one half of the Imperial dominions, is not nearly so good as that of most of our provinces. In France the towns are at least as full again of inhabitants as those of the Austrian dominions, and yet the country, take it all together, is well peopled. It is only those parts of the hereditary dominions of Austria, that are German, which can vie with France in agriculture and population.

Some

Some of the *data* on which the lists which make the population of Austria amount to twenty-seven millions are founded, are truly ridiculous. For instance, Mr. Schloffer's correspondent will have it, that the Austrian Netherlands contain 4,000,000; though the United Netherlands, which are so much larger, and most uncommonly peopled, do not contain more than 2,500,000 inhabitants. The circumference of all the Austrian Netherlands contains, at most, 500 German square miles. According to this account, therefore, each square mile would contain 8000 men; and as Luxemburg, and the northern parts of Brabant, are confessedly but thinly peopled, the remaining provinces must have at least 10,000 souls in every square mile; a population, I will venture to say, not to be met with in any part of Europe, the environs of London, Naples, and Paris, not excepted. In a journey I made to Holland, I was assured, from good information at Brussels, that the population of the Austrian Netherlands amounted only to 1,800,000 souls, and this is a great deal; as even, according to this statement, there will be 3,600 men for every geographical German square mile.

The statement of the income of the house of Austria, which Mr. Schloffer gives us, is accurate as far as it goes, but is not quite perfect.—

He

He does not reckon Illyria, Lombardy, and the Netherlands; and the exports from Hungary and Transylvania are put rather under the mark. I fancy the following will turn out a pretty accurate account :

Bannat	-	-	-	1,500,000	Imperial
Transylvania	-	-	-	3,000,000	
Illyria	-	-	-	2,000,000	
Poland, together with Bukowina				1,200,000	
Bohemia	-	-	-	11,600,000	
Moravia	-	-	-	400,000	
Silesia	-	-	-	700,000	
All the circles of Austria				22,700,000	
Netherlands	-	-	-	7,000,000	
Lombardy	-	-	-	4,000,000	
				<hr/>	
				82,000,000	

These 82,000,000 of Imperial guilders make about 98,400,000 Rhenish guilders, or about 215,000,000 of French livres; which is about 145,000,000 livres less than the income of our court (the colonies not included), and about as much as the revenue of Great Britain. When we consider, that France contains about 4,000,000 more inhabitants than Austria does, that its commerce is much more flourishing and that Hungary and Illyria yield so little, in proportion to their size, the proportion of the produce of the two countries will be thought pretty near the truth.

The account of the expenditures, which Mr. Schloffer's correspondent has subjoined to his account of the revenue, is notoriously false. The expences of the army are laid at 17,000,000 of guilders; but though, in proportion to the strength of the two countries, the army of this court costs a third less than ours does, the Emperor's military expences, including the large magazines, and recruiting money, come to 28,000,000 a year. Some persons of credit make the sum still larger. Mr. Schloffer's correspondent states the pensions only at a million; but it is easy to see, that as much again may be given in pensions, and yet none of those who must necessarily subsist by the bounty of the court be much richer. Besides all this, the account of the expenditure must be false; for Mr. Schloffer's correspondent has made it agree with the revenue, which he stated at 27,000,000 guilders less than it really is.

I recollect to have read, in a speech, spoken in parliament by an English minister, who wanted to shew the rank his country held in the system, a comparative state of the revenues of the several great powers in Europe. He estimated the revenue of France at twelve, that of Great Britain at nine, that of Russia at seven, and that of Austria at six millions sterling. This is silly enough; but it is not as absurd as what is said by
Linguet,

Linguet, who, in his annals of Europe, ventures to entertain a doubt, whether Austria has power enough to secure the west of Europe from the danger of a Turkish invasion; and therefore graciously advises the other European powers to help this house to a slice of Germany or Turkey, in order to enable it to measure spears with the Turk. Austria is still, without doubt, the second power of Europe. The revenue of Russia consists of 32,000,000 of rubles, which, according to the present value of the ruble, does not amount to more than 64,000,000 of Imperial guilders. No doubt but Russia may do astonishing things with its income at home, where the first necessities of life are all so cheap; but it has not nearly the number of resources, to carry on operations out of its own borders, as this court has. The times of Leopold and Charles VI. have long been gone by. Within these last twenty years, a change has taken place in the administration of the Imperial finances, which will astonish the world, as soon as this court has an opportunity of shewing its power. I do not believe it wants as much time as Russia wanted, when it began the last war, to be a full match for the Turks. As the revenue of Great Britain was nearly equal to that of this country, previous to the breaking out of this war, but has been a little lessened by the loss of America, Austria has no rival to fear,

even

even at present, but France; but the former is a rising power, and in fifty years time, the two crowns will be nearly equally strong. Though it be true, that Russia does contain some millions of men more than the Austrian monarchy, there are amongst the former several Kamtschatdales, Samoides, and Laplanders, who are of little more political estimation than their cattle. Both powers are making hasty strides to greatness, and in the next century, will probably play the parts, which France and England played, from the end of the last to the middle of this, that is, the quiet and balance of Europe will depend upon them. This court will not suffer the Russian to take one step, without taking the same, or perhaps two, as was the case in the partition of Poland, which I know for certain, originated in this country. Russia bore all the expence of the Turkish, or to say better, of the Polish war; and when matters came to a division, Austria gained more than Russia and Prussia put together. The Austrian part of Poland, together with Bukowina, which was taken from the Turks, is not larger than the share which Russia had; but it contains more men, and produces at least half as much again as the Russian and Prussian parts put together. According to the best accounts, the Russian part contains only 2,100,000 and the Prussian 650,000; whereas in the Austrian, as I

have

have stated them, there are 2,800,000 souls: Besides this larger population, Austria has likewise the advantage of the very productive salt-works of Wielitska, and the greatest part of Poland is dependent upon it for this necessary of life. The strength of Austria is compact; but that of Russia is broken. They talk here of a partition of Turkey, as a thing resolved on by the two Imperial courts, and even the public papers begin to mention it; but I do not believe it, as it is well known that there was a plan of the same kind formed by the two courts in the year 1730. Should there, however, be any thing in it, and should not our court have a power to conjure the storm, this would probably be the last treaty of friendship between Austria and Russia; for as soon as the Porte shall be destroyed, and the two Christian empires have their limits on the borders of the Black Sea, they must of necessity grow jealous of each other, as with respect to trade, and other circumstances, they will be exactly in the same situation as France and Great Britain were in, with regard to each other.

L E T T E R XXXVI.

Vienna.

BY degrees the Emperor begins to shew a little of the plan which he has so long kept concealed in his own breast. You must not expect me to give you a circumstantial account of the new regulations which have appeared, or will appear in future. I think of leaving this town next week; but you will have quicker, and more complete intelligence from the newspapers, than I can give you on my travels. Certainly our chaste French Gazette is not the channel to convey matters of this kind to you; it will, indeed, inform you very circumstantially, that the Emperor went one day to church, another day a hunting, and a third to the concert; that he let his hand be kissed, and what coat, or great coat he wore in one and the other place. You will not hear, by this channel, of the laws relating to toleration, of the abolition of cloisters, of the diminution of the papal authority; you will not hear that liberty is promised to every sectary to worship God in his own way; that Austria has become independent of all foreign influence; that monkery is no more; that the clergy are
become

become the servants of the state: the abolition, too, of feudal tenures; the diminution of the pernicious privileges of the nobles; the reform in the courts of justice; greater simplicity in all the operations of government; universal and rigid œconomy; advancement of philosophy; extension of civil liberty and patriotic feelings; encouragement of merit; all these things are attended to by Joseph, with a zeal and steadiness which will render Austria, in a short time, the astonishment of the world, and one of the most flourishing and mighty empires in it.

Perhaps you will ask, what is to become of the arts? Will there also be academies of inscriptions and belles lettres; Arcadian assemblies, academies of painting and statuary? Most certainly there will. One of the latter is an old institution; and as for the others, there are as many able subjects here as at Paris. Here are persons enough who have time and talents sufficient to make each other senseless compliments in periodical publications; to make parties to raise some insipid performance, the author of which has flattered their vanity into repute, and to oppress a writer of merit, who has ventured to dispute their judgment. Nor are there wanting persons who are capable of giving the most old fashioned thought an air of novelty, or publishing mutilated translations as their own works.

It is, indeed, but eight or ten years since most of the new pieces which appeared on the French and English stages, were published here as original compositions. These things, therefore, will exist; but the Emperor will scarcely lay out a penny in this way; he knows better what to do with his money; and it had been well for us, had we applied the money which these institutions have cost us, to any other purpose, had it been only that of making canals to carry off the dirt which makes such a stink in the choaked up common sewers, and has already suffocated many.

Here, methinks, I see you look on me with contempt; for I know you live and move only for the belles lettres, and pity us barbarians, who do not sacrifice so ardently to the divine arts. Well do I remember all the kind things you used to say of my stupidity and coldness, or whatever else you pleased to call it, whenever I happened not to have the feeling you had, on meeting with a good epigram, a lively description, or a fine print or drawing. But, my dear brother, every man sees things in his own way, and as in compliance with your leading passion, I have taken the trouble to give you a great deal of intelligence about the German theatre and poetry, &c. &c. and promise you a great deal more from the northern parts of Germany, you will
not

not take it amiss, if I say something to you in justification of my own taste, and peculiar way of thinking.

Tell me then, my dearest brother, if it be not a truth which all history attests, that in every nation, the æra of the arts and sciences has immediately preceded their fall? I will not be at the pains to prove this, by a long deduction of events, from the history of Greece to this time. You may recollect the excellent note of a Tyrolese monk, upon a passage in Columella, published by the author of *Voyages en differents Pays de l'Europe*. It contains the strongest evidence which history can give, that a country in which those arts which contribute chiefly to amusement are held in high estimation, and are the most successful way of gaining honour and fortune, is a country verging fast to ruin. You will say, that the fault is not in the arts and sciences themselves. Right; but when they get a certain superiority in a nation, over the other employments of the mind, they must draw destructive consequences after them. Frivolity, weakness, profusion, neglect of more laborious pursuits and occupations, ostentation, wrong judgment in choosing the servants of the state, a warm and immoderate desire of ornaments, &c. are necessary consequences of all these elegancies, when they are carried to that abuse which borders so
near

near on the good use of them. And what do they contribute to the real happiness of men? Are they any thing more than a splendid dream? How short, too, has this æra been with all nations? After the generation of wits, generally there has succeeded a totally illiterate *horde*, who have wakened those the arts had put to sleep with blows, and laid them in chains before they had well rubbed their eyes. How long is it since the days of Corneille and Racine? And we are already exhausted! Poor nation!

Not that I altogether refuse my approbation to works of genius, or would leave them quite unrewarded. I only wish that an excessive liberality shall not confound merit and demerits, and encourage that contagious spread of *virtù* and *bel esprit*, which, if not guarded against, soon infects a whole nation, and destroys the balance that should ever subsist between the *useful* and agreeable. I am convinced the Emperor will not refuse to do justice to the poet, the painter, and every artist of real merit, nor leave them unrewarded. But the application of philosophy to the improvement of government; but those branches of mathematics and physics, which are connected with civil industry;—but those arts and sciences, in short, which contribute to the lasting happiness of the country, have still more to

expect from him. And can you take this ill of him? His court will hardly resemble that of an Augustus, who could give a pension of 4000 louis d'ors to a poet, whilst he owed his old soldiers their pay. Certainly not. But Austria is advancing apace to the happy times of Henry IV. the times in which a nation begins to feel itself; when the foundation of national riches are laid; when civil liberty and peace are secured from the attacks of the monks and nobles; when the proper balance is established between all ranks of the state; when the fine arts and sciences, agreeable to their proper distinction, are only used for recreation, and more is not expended on them than a prudent œconomical father, who measures all his expences by the state of his fortune, would lay out on his pleasures; and when from this very reason, to wit, because they hold the rank they ought to hold, they thrive better than when excessive encouragement connects a train of votaries to them, who only love them for the sake of what they procure. When the arts become the means of gaining a livelihood, there is an end of all great works; and when artists form a corporation, as with us, it is a corporation of apes and monkies. How rare are original geniuses! Would millions raise a Voltaire?

Pardon

Pardon this digression, which was not so much a lash to your hobby horse, as an effusion of my esteem for the Emperor, whom I would wish to justify in your sight. I know that you cannot easily forgive his doing so little for the fine arts; but consider, brother, he lays out from ten to 20,000 louis d'ors, in supporting those who carry on useful employments, every one of whom, that wishes to establish a useful manufactory, may have any sum advanced at a small, or even without any interest at all. He assists all who will settle in the country in every way. He makes roads, builds villages, towns, and harbours, and has an army of at least 300,000 men to support. Ought he to be circumscribed in these expences, in order to establish an academy of *Inscriptions* and *Belles lettres*? Forbid it patriotism, forbid it humanity!

Perhaps, in time, he will do something for your goddesses, when all the court debts are paid, his finances in complete order, and the cloisters thinned. His debts are certainly not so great as ours, and yet they amount to about 160 millions of florins, and he is obliged to pay eighteen millions a year, in interest and capital. The lands belonging to the cloisters and religious foundations, in the Imperial hereditary lands, are estimated at 300 millions of florins,

of which nearly one half comes from the Netherlands and Lombardy. Possibly the muses may, in time, inherit some of this immense wealth.

L E T T E R XXXVII.

Vienna.

TO-MORROW I leave this place; I shall stay some time at Prague, where I expect to hear from you.

It is now evident what the Emperor was about, during his mother's life-time. All the strangers who are here are astonished at the short time in which one of the greatest and most total revolutions has been effected; a sure sign that it was thought of long before, and all the materials prepared. The nobility and clergy are every day more convinced that it will go harder and harder with them. But they make no resistance; for both orders are entirely disarmed. Notwithstanding their great riches, the nobility are enfeebled by their effeminacy and dissipation, and the clergy have a snake in their own bosoms
which

which will sting them to death. This snake is philosophy; which, under the semblance of theology, has glided even to the episcopal chair. Most of the younger ecclesiastics are infected by the poison of this snake in the universities: They all know that there is a Febronius in the world, and some of them are only acquainted with him as a heretic; yet as the arguments of the cowl have a much greater effect upon them than the arguments of their professors, and as the court is evidently friendly to him, they are not unwilling to be reconciled to their old enemy. The Bellarminists, who possess all the great benefices, still make, it is true, the greater number; but if once they are in danger of losing their cures, or the 25,000 advocates in the Imperial dominions, who have long been ready with arguments, are ordered to charge, they will, no doubt, make very little resistance.

I do not believe there is a single man of understanding in the army, who does not most thoroughly approve the Emperor's new regulations. This part of the administration of the country has been in his hands a considerable time; and it carries marks in every part of it, of having been so. Amongst all the Imperial officers I was acquainted with, I did not meet with one, of a certain age, who did not possess a certain fund of philosophy. During my stay here,

here, I found them by far the best company in the place, and, with the permission of the Professors, Doctors, and other Literati, must think them by far the most enlightened people in the Austrian dominions. I will answer for finding many corporals in the Imperial army who have more sense than nine out of ten of the literati. There has long been a freedom of thinking and reasoning in the army, which is a strong contrast to what obtains elsewhere, and does the Emperor the utmost honour. Every regiment has a library to itself, and the officers find means to procure every good book, however prohibited it may be. The King of Prussia has no longer Pope *be-salved* and *be-consecrated* generals, as he used to call Daun, to contend with. Even amongst the common soldiers, you may observe a kind of natural logic, which is the consequence of the way in which they are managed, and which you may trace in their tents, in their manœuvres, in their tables, and in every thing that belongs to them. There is not a vestige left of the bigotry which heretofore made the Imperial army so conspicuous. What, indeed, will the black troop undertake against a corps conducted as this is? The Emperor will not find the same facility in reforming the administration of civil and criminal justice, as he will meet with in reforming the church. There is still a formidable dark-

darkness over all this part of legislation. The defects, partly owing to the laws themselves, and the forms of administering justice, and partly increased through the stupidity, pedantry, dissoluteness, selfishness and want of patriotism of the servants of the court, have long been felt. The late Empress endeavoured to remedy them, but in vain; for were the *Codex Theresianus* ten times less barbarous than it is, still little would have been done. There is a want of men to give vigour to laws, however good.

During the time he was only a kind of viceroy, the Emperor took all the pains he was able, to throw more light upon the administration of justice, and to render it more impartial; nor do I believe there is a single instance of a striking and notorious act of injustice having been committed by any of his immediate servants; but he could not create new subjects, and as long as pride, laziness and the love of shew, continue to be leading features in the characters of the principal members of the courts of justice, it is impossible but that fraud, chicanery, and, indeed, roguery of every kind, must find their way, in processes so complicated as these are.

Criminal justice is, indeed, in a most piteous condition. When you read the *Codex Theresianus*, you would conceive that it had been composed for a horde of *Baschis*. Here are punishments
for

for crimes which have not been heard of in the country for a century ; and penalties, very grievous indeed, but at the same time most ridiculous, when you compare the state of the country and the state of the law, for offences which happen every day, but raise no clamour, such as fornication, adultery, and sodomy. This, however, is not so great an evil ; for let laws be as severe as they will, still they expose civil and natural liberty to no danger, and the most inhuman laws that can be devised, are better than no law at all ; or what amounts to the same thing, the non-observance of any. The latter unfortunately is the case here. It was soon seen that the *Codex Theodosianus* agreed neither with the manners nor the character of the people, and the court became ashamed, at the time that all Europe was making an outcry about humanity, the abolition of capital punishments, &c. &c. of a statute-book which had nothing in it but halters, gibbets, swords, &c. What was to be done ? They would not repeal the law ; but contented themselves with an universal requisition to the judges to be mild, and not to inflict capital punishments without necessity. This misunderstood lenity is the greatest tyranny in the world. The most cruel law that can be devised cannot commit murder. On the contrary, the more cruel the law is, the more depravity and obstinacy it be-
speaks

speaks to sin against it ; but the general direction, to 'have recourse to no capital punishments 'without necessity,' tends to submit the guilty to the discretion of the judge, and thus undermines one of the principal props of civil liberty. As long as laws, let them be as severe as they will, are rigidly observed, the transgressor is without excuse. He knew the law, and not to guard against the penalty of it, bespoke wickedness and weakness ; but in the last case he may be the victim of circumstances, with which his crime has not the least connection. I will relate a fact to you, which happened some years ago at Lintz, which, though it relates to military justice, will give you a very good idea of the state of criminal justice in this country.

Two grenadiers, who were among the handsomest men of the regiment, agreed to desert from Stein, and engaged others to desert with them. They were detected and condemned to die, as ringleaders, by the council of war. The whole regiment knew, that every general in the army had it in command, to suffer no sentence of death to be put in execution without the utmost necessity. As this necessity did not exist, General Brown was determined to grant a pardon, and he would have done so ; but on a sudden the whole scene changed. The comrades of the prisoners went to them in prison, got drunk with

with them, and offered to go to the gallows in their stead ; so persuaded were they that the pardon would come. The whole of this was related to the general.—The day came ; the young men went chearfully to the field ; all Lintz had no doubt but a pardon would meet them there, when lo, and behold ! General Brown found out, that this was the reserved case of extreme necessity, and the men were executed. What was the consequence ? The general had a reprimand from Vienna ; but did he deserve it ? Was it not a sufficiently good excuse for his conduct, to say, that desertions were grown every day more common, from the idea that sentences of death would never be carried into execution ? In my opinion, these grenadiers were victims to the weakness of the legislation. Stability, not mercy, is the first merit of a law.

A general defect, which runs through the whole of this legislation, is, that it is loaded with orders which are not made effective. There is no end of projects and writings. There are orders upon orders, injunctions upon injunctions, and rescripts upon rescripts ; the last of which always overturns, or at least very much limits the preceding one. This is so constant a thing, that several persons in office in the country make it a rule, before they carry an order into execution,

to wait five or six weeks to see whether it will be contradicted. It would be a curious, and to the Austrian state a very profitable business, if any person would take the trouble of collecting the contradictory laws which have been promulgated within these last eighteen or twenty years. This, no doubt, arose in part, because the Emperor and his mother had different plans of legislation; but now he governs alone, he will find it very difficult to bring matters right, as he cannot depend upon any assistance whatever from his subalterns.

The language of the courts of justice here is very singular. You must know, that they have a style of their own, which is totally different from the common style, and is called the chancellery, or law style.—I have just been reading a rescript of the Imperial court to the chapter of Saltzburgh, who are engaged in a law-suit with their archbishop. It contains periods which fill a whole folio side of paper, and in which, with all the attention in the world, it is impossible to find a connection. Indeed, the more unconnected it is, and the more abounding in the scarcest Latin and French words, the better this style is reckoned. There are likewise many German words, which are used in a sense directly opposite to what they have in common language. I look upon it as quite impossible that
the

the grandchildren of the present generation should understand a single syllable of all their jargon.— Fare ye well.

L E T T E R XXXVIII.

Prague.

THE journey from Vienna to this place was one of the most pleasing I have ever taken, notwithstanding we did not meet with a single good town, during a journey of forty-four German post miles. My company consisted of an Imperial officer, a priest, and a traveller from Lower Saxony.—The officer had served in the last war in Silesia. He was a sensible man, and acted as our *Cicerone* on two of the most noted fields of battle recorded in modern history.

As long as we continued in Austria, the country appeared singularly well cultivated, and there was all the appearance of a high state of happiness and ease among the farmers; but in the parts of Moravia we came through, the inhabitants did not seem near so happy as their neighbours. Notwithstanding this, however, the
country

country is well cultivated throughout ; nor do you see any of the wild deserts, which are so striking in Hungary. Snaym and Iglau are two very pretty villages. The inhabitants of these speak German very well ; but you observe that it is not their native language.

The whole country is made up partly of a plain, and partly of gently rising hills ; but on the confines of Bohemia, the hills rise into more stately, as well as more fruitful mountains.—The parts of these through which our road lay, were covered with fine woods, villages, and several very stately castles, and there are milestones all the way. The roads are excellent. We met with few villages on the plains of Bohemia ; it seems the Germans have a proverb, which says of a thing that is scarce, ‘ That it is scarce as a village in Bohemia.’ As, however, it is evident from the list of those who draw for soldiers, that the country is extremely well peopled, and as we saw some very good agriculture, and no barren ground, we did not at first know what to make of these appearances ; but our officer who had travelled over the country far and near, explained them to us. He told us, that most of the villages lay off the great road, in the neighbourhood of rivers and brooks, or behind woods, and that if we would go a mile and a half, either to the right or left, we should see enough of them.

them. This custom of hiding the habitations in the rocks of the country, or behind woods, probably took its rise in the time of wars, when the inhabitants endeavoured to procure shelter from the robbers and knight-errants who infested the land.—No doubt the convenience of having water contributed something to it. Between Kolin and Planiani, which are distant two German miles from each other, we came to the noted field of battle, which has taken its name from these two places, though it ought to have it from the small village near which the action really happened. Here we got out, and our *Cicerone*, who was proud of having had his share in the honour of that day, which did away the ignominy of Austria, went over the ground with us.

Many reasons have been given why this battle proved so fatal to the king of Prussia, and, as in all other cases of the kind, the historian will be puzzled to choose between the different relations of various sensible men, who were *all* eye-witnesses, and *all* took part in the labour and difficulty of the day.—Here, however, the event evidently depended upon the ground, which Daun knew how to make his advantage of.

Along the road, and to the right of it, there is a plain which extends as far as the eye can reach; on the left of this there is a gentle rise, which
makes

makes a kind of peak near the village where the greatest action took place. On the right of this rising, which you can hardly call a hill, you discover straight before you a long, deep ditch, encompassed with steep walls, which have the appearance, at a distance, of a plain betwixt woods. To the left this hill sinks in a remarkable hollow, and loses itself backwards in a great plain. Daun's right wing was placed on the top of the rising, and the remainder of his army was covered by the ditch on the left. The king of Prussia approached by the plain through which we were to pass. He was compelled to fight, or give up the siege of Prague, and evacuate Bohemia. The only part of the Imperial army he could attack was the right wing. The gallant Prussians were not at all disheartened by the inequality of the ground. Ever accustomed to conquer, their right wing advanced in silence up the hill. The Imperialists, who had the advantage of the ground, beat them back again. Six times the Prussians returned to the attack; but as the ground was very narrow, they were at length much impeded by the numbers of their own dead, who lay on the slopes of the hill they had to ascend. Notwithstanding all this, they would still have gained the day, if Daun had not had time to flank his beaten right wing with cavalry. This immediately charged to the left of
the

the hill in the flank of the Prussians, who after the sharpest contest, were at length obliged to give way. Whilst they were retreating in good order, prince Maurice, of Dessau, whose bravery often approached to rashness, took a single battalion, and with it encountered the whole force of the Austrian army. This made the route much greater than it would otherwise have been. The prince would have fought his troops to the last man, if he had not been called off from his rash-headed attempt by the king's special command. As among other losses the king's guard had been entirely cut off, when the prince came up to him, he began crying out, "My guard, prince!" "my guard!" To which the other made answer, "My regiment, your majesty! my regiment!" He thought, that as his regiment had been cut off, there was nothing worth saving.

Now it may probably have been a fault in the king not to have had any cavalry in his left wing; but if it was so, it arose from the unevenness of the ground. If the Austrians had not had the great advantage of having their right wing on an eminence, and the rest of their army secure, in all probability the Prussians, who notwithstanding these disadvantages, made the victory dubious for a great while, would have got the day before Daun could have supported the attacked part
with

with his cavalry, and in that case no person would have thought of a failure of cavalry on the Prussian part. The king, too, could not observe the motions of the German horse, whose sudden appearance from the hollow was the more formidable, from its being entirely unexpected, and what *a priori* must have seemed very improbable to the king.

Others say, that the king proposed to do nothing with his left wing, but intended to alter his mode of battle, and charge with his right, whilst the prince of Dessau was amusing the enemy.—In that case his flank would have been secured from the attack of the enemy's cavalry, and he would have had nothing to fear from the Austrian left wing on this side the deep ditch.—But, say those who maintain this opinion, the prince of Dessau, instead of amusing the enemy, made so lively and serious an attack, that the king was obliged to support him, out of apprehension, that if the prince was repulsed, the whole army might have been brought into disorder by the flight of his regiment. I take this likewise to be one of those after-thoughts which shew what a man should have done, but not what he did, or had a mind to do.—Others think, that the king trusting solely to his good fortune, which had done such great things for him a little before at the battle of Prague, had neglected some neces-

fary arrangements, particularly the bringing up his cavalry. But this seems one of the observations which a sensible writer makes after the time, to give himself the air of appearing to know more than other people. A man like the king of Prussia, who gives continual proofs that he does not suffer himself to be depressed by any reverse of fortune, is not likely to have been too much raised by his successes.

Being now beaten, for the first time, after so many successful battles, Frederick retreated in the best order possible to Saxony, through *Leutmeritz* and *Auffig*. Depressed he was not, but a little out of humour at his oldest brother, since dead, who carried part of the army back into Saxony, by Gabel, experienced — But, no doubt, you are well acquainted with this wonderful retreat, and the anecdotes concerning it, to be found in the book entitled *Recueil de Lettres de sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, regardant le dernière guerre*. If the king had gained this battle he would have been master of all Bohemia. All Austria would have stood open to him, and *Olmütz* only would have prevented his going to Vienna. In this case he would have dictated to his enemies the conditions of peace, whereas the miscarriage was followed by six years of bloody war.

The king commanded this action from the window of an upper story of a public house, which

which stands alone, and is very near the road. It was with inexpressible pleasure that we dined in the room, which commands a view of the field of battle on both sides. Every thing here appeared sacred to me: as I stood in the place occupied by the king, in the window which directly fronts the eminence which occasioned his defeat, I felt all the mortification he must have experienced, when he found his troops giving way.—There were some marks of cannon-balls in the walls of this house, and the king was not altogether safe.

Kolin is a pretty little town, it is, without a doubt, the best place you meet with betwixt Prague and Vienna; the garrison, however, excepted, it does not contain above three thousand five hundred souls. The houses are not more than seven hundred, and do not seem to be very well inhabited. We rested a little here, and were extremely well treated; you live very cheap and well all over Bohemia. Small hares, ducks, geese, &c. are the common food met with, in the smallest inns.

In order to give you an idea of the price of provisions, I will give you an account of what the Saxon and I paid for a night's entertainment.—You must know, that almost all the inns here have a bad appearance, and the innkeepers, notwithstanding the plenty they afford travellers,

seem to be but in indifferent circumstances.— Their houses generally stand alone in the street, and have neither orchard, kitchen-garden, or any piece of land near belonging to them. They are obliged to pay so heavy a rent to the landlord, or nobleman to whom the house belongs, that they can gain but very little. At last we saw an inn at a village we came to, which had a better appearance; it had a roomy court, good stables, a neat garden, and was the property of the landlady. Now, said we, as we got into our bed-chambers, we shall have another kind of a bill, and, no doubt, pay for the fine prospect which this room commands, the fine furniture, the exquisite glasses and china, and in short, all the fine things which we enjoy or do not enjoy. We had for supper a rice soup, with an exceeding good chicken, a salad, and two young hares broiled. We had excellent beer, which is remarkably good in Bohemia, and a pot of wine, which we found very bad, and would not have another, as we knew that wine was very dear all over Bohemia. We had two very clean beds, and some very good coffee for breakfast; and would you think it? When the bill was called for, it amounted only to forty-two creutzers, that is, about one livre and forty-two sols French.

We

We stopped about three miles from Prague, and went some furlongs out of the way to see the famous field of battle of the year 1757. Here the Prussians overcame nature itself. It was impossible for the Austrians to have more favourable ground. A deep, broad, perpendicular ditch protected them from the enemy. They had a very formidable artillery, which defended the ditch by batteries placed to great advantage. When the Prussians made their first attack by the ditch, they fell like flocks of snow: the Austrian fire was terrible. There has not been a harder or bloodier action in the present century, nor is there perhaps in history, a single instance of a *battle* won under such circumstances as the Prussians had to contend with. It is almost literally true, that they had at the same time a fort to take and an army to beat, which was stronger than their own. Conceive to yourself, a deep ditch flanked with cannon, on the other side of which is encamped a bold looking army of at least seventy thousand men. The Prussians marched through the ditch, and through the fortifications opposed to them, put the enemy to the most complete flight, and besieged Prague, in which part of the flying Imperial army took refuge. But they paid dear for the victory; their loss of men was infinitely greater than that of the enemy; accounts differ with regard to the numbers slain;

some

some make them seven, others from nine to ten thousand men. This is the case with all modern actions. The truth, however, without the least exaggeration is, that the immense ditch was filled throughout its whole breadth with dead men, who in many places likewise, lay in great heaps upon each other.

The stroke which the king felt most of all, was the loss of the brave general Schwerin. We looked with the most solemn melancholy on the tree near which he fell. The present Emperor has erected a monument to him, which does no less honour to the person who set it up, than to him whose name it bears and eternizes. Many anecdotes are current with regard to the death of this brave man. It has been said, that a rough answer given by the king to a message he sent him by an adjutant in the midst of the battle, to let him know it was impossible to win it, occasioned him to seek death; but I do not believe this; for even supposing Schwerin to have remonstrated on what he thought an impossibility, the king knew well enough that the word *obey* was sufficient to remind him of his duty, and to make him do all that could be expected from a man of his character, for courage and abilities; no, we must do Schwerin the justice to say, that he died because, accordingly to the proverb, every man owes a death. He died like a patriot; he
saw

saw the violence of the contest, saw the good will of his soldiers, and their courage, which the havock death made all around them could not tame. Nothing, he found, but an act of desperation on his part could save them, he therefore snatched the colours out of the hands of a dying cornet, crying, follow me, my brave boys, and rode up to the mouth of the cannon. A ball took him off, at the head of his brave troops, but they, fired by his courage and example, got up the hill, broke in on the enemy, and by that deed turned the day in favour of the king. After the battle the king besieged Prague. Daun in the mean time collected the broken Imperial troops, got an army together, and hastened to the relief of the town, the garrison of which was making a brave resistance; this army the king was compelled to attack, or raise the siege; this brought on the above described battle of Kolin, in which he lost all that he had won before.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

Prague.

BOHEMIA is a country favoured of heaven, the climate is excellent. In this excursion
I have

I have become acquainted with several foreigners who make their constant residence here, and are induced to it by the wholesomeness of the air, the goodness and cheapness of all the necessaries of life, and the cheerful good-humour of the inhabitants,—and yet Æneas Silvius describes the country as a part of Siberia, though it was, in all probability, more flourishing in his time than it is now; to be sure, the difference of the climate must have been striking to a Roman, but I believe his eminence was here only in the winter; the spring is not so beautiful even at Rome, as it is here; spring and summer are as remarkable as the winter is at Vienna, where you seldom see a regular spring, but the winter and summer almost join. The climate of this country is not exposed to any of those sudden and inclement changes which are so fatal to health in other places. The winter colds are neither too sharp, nor the summer heats too strong. The air is dry, clear, and temperate. The country lies high, and forms a large extended plain, surrounded on all sides by very high hills covered with rich woods. The vale in the middle, which is watered by the Elbe, the Moldaw, and the Eyer, of which you may easily form an idea, by casting your eyes on the map, is protected from the force of the wind. The several hollows in the middle contribute to let out the
waters,

waters, so that there are neither lakes nor morasses to fill the air with unwholesome vapours. As the soil is stony only in very few places, the waters flow easily through the country, and make it fruitful, without filling the air, as is the case in several parts of Upper Switzerland, with catarrhs and coughs.

The country produces every thing that can contribute to the comfort of life in astonishing abundance, wine and salt only excepted. The greatest part of the former is brought at a very moderate price from Lintz, where is a warehouse for salt, which is brought from Gerund in Austria, and Halle in the Tyrol. The remainder is brought from Austrian Poland at a moderate price. There have been many successful experiments made to produce wine, and I have tasted some melnikers, very little inferior to the second sort of Bourdeaux wines. The first stocks were brought from Burgundy. The country, however, will hardly be able to produce a sufficiency of this article for consumption, but it has other advantages to make up for the loss. As it possesses most of the prime necessaries of life, and by that means commands a superiority of trade, which none of the neighbouring countries can dispute with it, it provides a great part of Silesia, Saxony, and Austria with corn, and also sells them some cattle. The circle of *Saasser*

is alone able to furnish all Bohemia, populous as the country is, with corn, even in moderate years. The excellent Bohemian hops are carried as far as the Rhine in great quantities. The breed of horses is likewise wonderfully improved within these few years, and bring annually large sums of money into the country. The Bohemian tin is the best of any, next to the English; and they carry on a very considerable trade in alum, and several kinds of precious stones, particularly garnets. The large woods, in which the country abounds, furnish materials for the wonderful manufactories of glass, which bring a great deal of money into the country, and find their way into every part of Europe from Portugal to Sweden. Within these few years they have also made large quantities of very good, and uncommonly cheap hats, with which they supply great part of the inhabitants of Austria, Bavaria, and Franconia. The handkerchief and linen manufactories are also in good repute.

The Bohemians travel much. Some as dealers in glass, who go as far as England and Italy, and some as basket and sieve makers. I have met with large caravans of these on the Upper Rhine, and in the Netherlands. These people commonly come home with pretty large sums of money; they keep together like brothers, whilst they are in foreign countries. They have indeed an
uncommon

uncommon share of patriotism, and a kind of confidence in each other, which often makes them pass in the eyes of strangers for a savage and barbarous people, though they really are not so.

Since the days of Hufs they have a secret hatred to the Germans, which does not arise so much from bad temper as from a kind of national pride. Most of the farmers who live near the roads, speak German; but as they do not like to talk to a stranger without necessity, they pretend not to understand a word of what the traveller says, and make their sport of him amongst themselves. It has been attempted to make them send their children to German schools, but hitherto they have all proved abortive. They have an unspeakable aversion to whatever is German. I have heard young men here talk of the battles which their ancestors, under Ziska, fought against the Germans, with a degree of warmth and pride, which made them very amiable in my eyes. They still remember too, that the residence of the court at Prague formerly rendered the country flourishing, and lament that the preference which has been given to Austria, in consequence of a slight misunderstanding, carries off large sums annually from the country, which are sent to Vienna, partly by the court, and partly by the nobility. The late Empress was

was extremely offended with them on account of this misunderstanding, and Bohemia was the only one of her old hereditary dominions which she never visited.

The Hussites are still very numerous in the country. Some think that a fourth part of the inhabitants are of this sect, which has also spread widely in Moravia. Scarce four years are past since above 10,000 farmers made a little stand to recover their freedom of opinion; but they were soon quieted, and the thing had no further consequences.

Voltaire, and some other historians, have much misrepresented the famous Huss and his doctrines. They look upon this reformer as a man of a very limited understanding, and think that his object went no further than to procure the clergy leave to marry, and let the people have the use of the cup, at the sacrament. They love to make sport with him, and say, that he endeavoured to make the incomprehensible mystery still more incomprehensible, without having the least attention to how much the human mind was lowered by such mysteries. They deny him the philosophical spirit, both of his predecessor Wickliff, or of his followers, Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin. I had formerly the same opinion of him myself; but since I have studied his history, and the histories of his followers, I have conceived a much higher idea
of

of him. I searched in the library of Vienna for all the documents that relate to this interesting history. In Menker, I found a vindication of the opinions of the Hussites, addressed to the diet of Nuremberg. It is written in a German which I could not understand, till I had read it over six or seven times, and procured assistance from several of my friends. This wonderful representation contains the whole confession of faith of the Hussites. They attack the whole system of the Roman Catholic church, purgatory, fasts, monkery,—and it is certain that they were only one step behind Calvin. The style of this vindication has all the marks of intimate persuasion, and of the soundest understanding, only like Luther, the author sometimes falls into the style of the times, and runs into low language.

In fact, the sole advantage which the other reformers had over Huss, arose from the invention of printing since his time, as in consequence of this, knowledge was much more widely spread, as the doctrines could be much more widely diffused. The doctrines of Huss were lost amidst the wars which followed his death. They were stifled in the barbarity which overspread Bohemia, when the people no longer attended to any teacher, but the sword became the sole decider of all controversy.

I found

I found sufficient proofs, that Hufs, notwithstanding his obstinacy and presumption, possessed an enlightened and philosophical mind, which, however, partook somewhat of the unpolished character of the age in which he lived. I am sometimes tempted to write his history, which perhaps is not yet sufficiently understood. Whether I shall persevere I know not, but in the mean time will collect what materials I can, and when I have time, try whether I have any talents for writing history,—at least I feel a great temptation to do this.

The present race of Hussites, flatter themselves, that the Emperor, whose sentiments of toleration are well known, and who is very fond of the Bohemians, will restore to them their freedom of opinion; but people here generally think, that they are deceived in their expectations; for as their sentiments nearly approach those of the Lutherans, it would not be very prudent to allow the establishment of a new sect, which always spreads some roots that may grow, and be dangerous.

The Bohemians are a wonderfully strong-built race of men. Dubravius, one of their historians, who was Bishop of Olmutz, in the sixteenth century, compares them to lions. ‘As the land
 ‘ (says he, according, to the manner of writing of
 ‘ those times,) lies under the influence of Leo,

‘ so do its inhabitants possess all the qualities of
 ‘ that noble animal. Their high chests, spark-
 ‘ ling eyes, strong thick hair, stout bones, strength,
 ‘ courage, and irresistible spirit, when opposed,
 ‘ all shew evidently that the lion is their star,
 ‘ which they bear likewise in their coat of arms.’

They are a handsome, strong-built, and active race of people; and you see evidently that they are descended from the Croats, who are some of the handsomest people upon earth. Their heads are a little too large; but their broad shoulders, and their thick-set bodies, render the disproportion not so visible as it would otherwise be. They are without doubt the best soldiers of all the Emperor’s troops. They bear the inconveniences of the military life longer than any. Even hunger, that deadly fiend to every thing that calls itself an Imperial soldier, they can support for a considerable time.

My journey through the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, confirmed an opinion I had long since taken up in other countries, which is, that the inhabitants of the mountains are by no means as good soldiers as those who inhabit the plains. The Tyrolese, Carinthians, Ukrainians, and Styrians, have as strong bodies as the Bohemians, but they are by no means as good soldiers as these, and without a doubt are the most wretched of all the Emperor’s troops.

troops. Even in Switzerland, as I have heard from some of the most intelligent officers of the country, the Zurichers, and that part of the inhabitants of Berne, who live in the lower parts of the Canton, are infinitely better soldiers than the *Graubundtners*, and other nations who inhabit the top of the Alps. The true reason of this is no doubt to be sought for in the peculiar way of living of a mountainous people, which is too particular for them ever to be able to change their way of life, without suffering by it.

All people likewise who live by pasturage, are known to be much weaker than those who live by agriculture, who are hardened by the weather, and continual labour. The inhabitants of mountains, who according to the testimony of history, are mostly herdsmen, defend their country with more perseverance, than the inhabitants of plains, because the property they have in it, makes them fonder of it, and because the defence of their almost inaccessible possessions, is naturally much easier to them; but they are by no means as formidable out of their own country, and they soon get the *maladie du Pais*, which you know is so common amongst the Swifs.

The constitution and manners of the country contribute much to make the Bohemians such soldiers as they are. The farmers live in a poverty, which preserves them from effeminacy and

and luxury much more effectually than any positive sumptuary law could do. Besides this, the feudal slavery system, which obtains here in the extreme, accustoms them, from their youth upwards, to unconditional obedience, the great military virtue of our days. Their constant labour and scanty food render them hardy and, like the Spartans, they find the soldier's life far easier than ploughing the fields of their masters.

It is inconceivable how a people in such a wretched situation should possess so many virtues as these do. They have given irrefragable proofs of their love of liberty, and in no city of the Austrian hereditary dominions have I met with so many true patriots as there are here.—The Bohemian peasant is generally looked upon as stupid and insensible, but take them altogether, they have a great deal of feeling and natural understanding. I have conversed with several of them, who lamented the horrors of their situation to me in terms sufficiently expressive, and spoke of the cruelty of their tyrants as it deserved to be spoken of. They love the Emperor with a degree of enthusiasm, and are confident that he will break their chains. In the Hussite war they gave proofs of courage, which would obscure all the famed deeds of the Helvetic one, if they were but half as well described or sung as these have been: without any ad-

vantages of situation, and on even grounds, they have with a handful of men defeated bands far better armed, and far better disciplined than themselves. Their onset was irresistible, and they would have inevitably secured that freedom to themselves, for which they fought so well, if towards the end of the war, dissensions, mostly fostered by the spirit of party and priestcraft that had arisen amongst themselves, had not ruined them, and if they had not been betrayed by treaties with their enemies.

I could not without the greatest commiseration look upon the handsome young farmers, who barefooted, with torn linen, and stockings uncommonly tattered, and yet clean clothes, without neckcloths, often without hats, were carrying corn or wood for their masters to market. Their good appearance and cheerfulness seemed to me but ill-suited to their hard fortune. One of them, who carried my great-coat, (which I had brought out with me for fear of rain, but could not wear on account of the heat) in his waggon during a three days journey I took on foot, to the pretty village of Brandeis, was the drollest and best young man in the world. He had nothing on but breeches and stockings, but shewed us with a kind of vanity, a sort of linen frock which was in the waggon, and which had almost as many holes as threads in it. His shirt
was

was almost in pieces, and yet he assured me, in his broken German, that he cared neither for wind nor weather : this led me into several philosophical reflections upon the luxury of my useless great coat. My young man was all life and spirits, and his good-looking legs, and sun-burned face, had almost reconciled me to the slavery I had been so angry with. Thought I to myself, luxury is generally complained of, and temperance and hardiness recommended to the farmer ; but is it possible to preserve them from effeminacy and luxury, if you once open the door of riches to them ? On the other hand, the master is obliged to furnish his slave with necessaries, if he does not choose to ruin himself ; and though the latter has no property, he is sure of never being exposed to beg his bread. No fire, no weather, nor war can put him in a different situation at the end of the year, from what he was in when he began it.—In this manner I was going on ; but the thoughts that their hardiness and frugality is no consequence of their own good will, and that they are no more in their masters estimation than the cattle which plough the fields, broke off at once the contract I was making with slavery.—In the mean time my fellow-traveller, accompanied my reflections, with dancing and singing, and in the intervals talked to his two fine horses, whose wonderful-

ly fleek skins were a strong contrast to his own miserable clothing. He seemed to have a great love for the horses, stroked and patted them; and yet they were not his, but belonged to a prelate whose slave he was. For my part, brother, I have no good idea of a prelate, who covers his horses backs with fine trappings, and suffers his slaves to go naked.—But, is a man to expect *consistency* in a *prelate*?—My good young peasant gave me a proof of strength, which astonished me. Not far from the village where I intended to pass the night, his spirited horses attempted to run away, but the waggon fell into a ditch, lost a wheel, and the horses were forced to stand still. The young man lightened the hinder axle-tree, where the wheel had failed, and thought the horses would do the rest, but the ditch was too deep; I would have assisted him, but he protested highly against it, and setting himself with all his force to the waggon, in a moment it was right again, without the horses having done any thing.—He refused the small present I would have made him, and, as we went along, laughed at me whenever I talked of his miserable circumstances, and seemed to think it strange I should imagine that he wanted any thing: possibly his master makes up to him in good eating and drinking, what he suffers him to want in clothes.

I saw

I saw every where amongst the peasants excellent horses. The Emperor, and all the German nobility, have furnished their studs with Moldavian, Tartarian, and Transylvanian stone-horses, which have much improved the breed. For a guilder any man may get his mare covered in the Imperial or nobles studs.

Bohemia furnishes a great part of the horses for the dragoons, and the race becomes every day better and more numerous.

L E T T E R X L.

Prague,

THIS is a very large town, it is above three miles long, and above two broad, but the population by no means answers to the size of the place. In several parts you seem as if you were in a village. Near the bridge, which stands at the upper part of the city, the number of people is very great, but the further you go from hence the more desolate you find every place.—The number of inhabitants is about seventy thousand, and there are about five thousand houses.—The bridge over the Moldau is seven hundred feet long; it is built of large freestone,
and

and ornamented on both sides with stone statues as large as life, but not more than three of these are worth seeing. There are very few good buildings in this place, and almost every thing looks very dirty. The royal castle is a very large irregular building, but it is built on a hill, which commands a very fine prospect over the whole city and country round. Not far from hence stands the archbishop's house (a pretty modern building), and the old cathedral, in which there are some pieces of architecture, which deserve to be seen; they are the work of a celebrated German or Bohemian artist, whose name I have forgotten.

Though the city is in general ill built, the situation of it is extremely fine. There is a better prospect from the bridge than I have seen in larger cities. The mass of houses rise like an amphitheatre to a considerable height. To the right the hill rises above them as far as the imperial palace, majestically situated on the top.— To the left it is covered as far as the middle with beautiful gardens and pleasure houses, which have a fine effect, and form a most extensive and most magnificent amphitheatre.

From these gardens you command a very fine prospect over the opposite part of the city. In the midst of the broad, but dry Moldau, there are two small islands, called Great and Little Venice,

Venice, in which the inhabitants make parties of pleasure.

The people of this place enjoy sensual pleasures more than those of Vienna, because they know better how to connect mental enjoyments with them. The society I have lived in here, has proved so good as to detain me a full fortnight longer than I intended. Freemasonry flourishes extremely here, and some persons, amongst whom Count R——is one, doat on it to enthusiasm. The freemasons in general do so much good, particularly by their establishments for education, that it is impossible the Emperor should be displeas'd with them. It is time to have done with illiberal prejudices against an institution which has done no harm to mankind, and has done it a great deal of good.

The Bohemians, who addict themselves to the pursuit of the arts and sciences, generally speaking, are very successful in them. They do not want genius, and have uncommon industry.—Their fondness for music is astonishing. I have heard several orchestras here which equalled those of Paris in brilliancy of execution, and surpassed them in accuracy and exactness of harmony. Bohemian players on the horn and harp are to be met with throughout all Germany. As they always bring home great sums of money, you seldom see a musician of this kind, who has
not

not travelled. This passion for music is generally attributed to the number of monasteries and cathedrals; but the cathedrals of Austria and Bavaria, which are no less numerous, have no such effect upon the public taste of those countries. I should therefore suppose, that the true reason is to be sought for in the customs and natural genius of the people. Most of the students of the place are musicians, and begin very early in life to give serenades and concerts in the squares and public places of the city.

The numerous garrison, which is constantly kept here, contributes not a little to the liveliness of this place; there are about nine thousand men constantly quartered here. The six regiments of grenadiers are the finest body of infantry I have ever seen. The officers are excellent companions, and quite free from those prejudices, from which other bodies of men are not yet totally exempt.

The Jews make a considerable part of the inhabitants of this place; there are at least nine or ten thousand of them; they have artists and mechanics of their own religion, who live in the part of the town appropriated to them, which is called the Jews city. It is pleasant enough to walk through this part of the town, and see their taylor and shoemakers at work in the middle of the street. Their workmen are distinguished from

from the christian ones by their clownishness and dirt. I am astonished as often as I think, how little of what was peculiar to themselves in their customs, these people have lost by their mixture with other nations: wherever I have seen them, excepting only in Holland, they are infinitely behind the Christians in every elegant refinement of life; and that they are otherwise in Holland, may be owing to most of those who are settled there having come chiefly from Portugal, where the persecutions they are exposed to compel them to assimilate as much to Christians as possible. At Prague they are distinguished from the Christians by a yellow handkerchief, which they are obliged to wear round their arms. Their industry is wonderful; in almost every inn there is a Jew, who does the business of a house-servant; he fills my snuff-box, garters my stockings, does all the little matters I have occasion for; brushes my shoes, dusts my clothes, and is in every respect a *valet de place*, excepting that he will take no money. He looks upon himself as extremely well paid for his trouble, by the gift of some old clothes, which he disposes of again. These fellows serve many strangers on the same terms, and content themselves with what they can make by trucking and bartering among their own people, without asking any thing farther. If you give them something to drink besides they are
 very

very thankful, but I have never seen them troublesome with their demands.

What political inconsistency!—The government of this place allows the Jews, the professed enemies of Christianity, freedom of thought, and liberty to serve God in their own way, and refuses it to the Protestants, who think as we do in all the fundamental points of religion; whilst a hostile, deceitful, treacherous people, are maintained in the full possession of their rights and privileges; contracts have been repeatedly (I do not speak only of what happened in former times, but under the last government) violated with the Hussites.—It is a remarkable phenomenon, dear brother, in the history of the human understanding, that while philosophers all contend, that the more alike men are, the more they love each other, in religion it should be quite different. Here the more likeness the more hatred. A member of one of the great houses of this place, would ten times rather treat with a Jew than with a Lutheran, though the Lutheran's religion and his own are so nearly alike. In Holland the reformed are much more favourable to the Catholics than to the Lutherans, and the States General had much rather allow the former freedom of religion than the latter. The Anabaptists and Calvinists hate each other much more than either of them do the Catholics, and so, in short,

short, you will find it universally, the nearer the religious sects approach, the more they hate one another.

This city has neither an extensive commerce nor any manufactory of consequence. There has long been a project of rendering the Moldau navigable, but hitherto this court has not been disposed to be at any expence for the public, and the thing cannot be done without a great expence. With us it would have been done long ago, as you know we have improvements, in comparison of which, this is only child's play. Were it once done, Prague would certainly gain a good deal by it; but still a great deal more would be required, before commerce could flourish here; there are, indeed, many impediments to get over; amongst the principal one may be reckoned the pride of the nobility, who with the greatest part of the national means in their hands are ashamed of trade;—the bad education of the children, which, within these ten or fifteen years, has been entirely monkish, and by that means fitted them more for strenuous idleness than industry;—the intolerance of the regency.—Such obstacles as these all Joseph's efforts will hardly be sufficient entirely to remove. There is a foundation of English, or rather, for so they are called, of Irish nuns here. Throughout all Germany you meet with English, Scotch, and German

man nuns. It is generally imagined, that most of these seminaries have been founded since the reformation took place in England. But this is a mistake, and most of them have probably subsisted ever since the time of Charlemagne, when Britain abounded in monks, and furnished Germany with them. An English and Scotch nunnery founds as well in Germany as an English and Scotch freemasons lodge.

This place abounds, like Vienna, in literati, who are content to ornament their rooms with the busts, medals, prints, and profiles of learned men, but neither think nor write themselves; and only have their titles from their belonging to no other association of men whatever: for it is here as at Vienna, whoever has neither military nor civil employment, nor is professor, nor priest, nor merchant, nor handicraftsman, nor manufacturer, nor servant, nor day-labourer, nor (what in the catalogue passes for a man) executioner, is a man of letters, whether he studies or not. In the general acceptance, a man of letters is only a *negative* quality. I am indeed acquainted with a few *positive* literati here, but their number in comparison of the *negatives* is very inconsiderable. The women of this place are handsome, and you may make love with more ease than at Vienna.

By

By way of postscript to this letter, which must still wait ten days before it is finished, I will give you a short account of an expedition we took: We went post as far as *Koniggratz*; there we took horse, and made a six days tour round by *Jaromers*, *Neustadt*, *Nachod*, *Braunan*, &c. to the borders of Silesia, with the double purpose of seeing the encampments and fields of battle of the war that took place two years ago, and of visiting some rich abbots houses, in which my companions had friends. We had an officer with us who commanded in both expeditions, and succeeded very well. The marches and encampments did not interest me much, because little was done in the war; but I was extremely pleased with our excursions into the cloysters.

My principal object was to see the manners and way of life of Bohemian ecclesiastics upon the spot, and I was richly rewarded. They are the most determined epicureans, particularly the regular bodies of them, which I have yet met with any where. They want nothing in the convents, for the accomplishment of all earthly gratifications, but a cloyster of nuns, made up of the maidens who do business at Prague by night; *sub Jove pluvis, intriviis et quadriviis*. Whatever bad effect it might have in some respect, the farmers and manufacturers who live in the neighbourhood of the cloysters, and con-

sider

sider their wives as their property, would undoubtedly be pleased with the arrangement. As things now are, the monks and half monks, to whom the villages round belong, appear like so many hunters of women ; nor do I believe them very different from those old lords of manors, who used to claim the first night's possession of every woman married to one of their vassals ; it is at least certain, that in every village we went through, we found one or two of them, who took no pains to conceal their belonging to the fraternity of jolly boys ; to know them thoroughly one ought to be acquainted with their superiors, who would, no doubt, furnish good anecdotes for the scandalous chronicle :—in some convents we met with singing women.

The lives of the regular bodies, and even of the Benedictines, whose abbot, or prelate, has not yet given up the pleasures of the world, is a perpetual carousal, which is only interrupted by country walks, and certain stated belchings in church. They look upon chaunting the service as a kind of expectoration good for the lungs. One of them, for whom I expressed some concern, on seeing him eat immense quantities of eggs, butter, &c. on a fasting day, said in a jesting way ; ‘ pshaw, pshaw, it will all come up again at afternoon service.’

My companions being desirous to shew me a very wonderful natural curiosity, we took our way by *Trautenau* for this purpose. About three miles from this city the finest prospect offered itself to our eyes that can be conceived.

Near a village, whose name I have forgotten, we beheld on a sudden, a great number of high towers, several of which in many places were in regular rows, but most of them lay dispersed in an extraordinary manner. We walked near a mile as if in a kind of labyrinth, encompassed with these towers on each side, and there was no end of my astonishment. Most of these are from sixty to seventy feet high, and some from one hundred to one hundred and fifty. When you view them obliquely their summits form a kind of waving line, like the back of a hill, which rises and sinks again. They are all formed of a hard quarry stone, and would give Mr. Buffon much food for thought. Nature has for the most part shaped them into more or less regular squares; they are commonly taken for the skeletons of a hill, through which the water has made its way. This opinion seems to merit attention; but if it be a true one, and other hills have also their skeletons, it will shake hard upon Buffon's system; for he probably considers the masses, of which these towers consist, as large masses of stone body, chalk and earth,
which

which are jumbled together, and have different degrees of hardness.

From hence we took our way back to Freiheit, and began to ascend the *Reifengeberge*; this hill, though very famous in Bohemia, is really no more than a mole-hill, in comparison of the Savoyard and Swiss Alps, or even of the Tyrol, Saltzburgh, and Stirian hills. We passed over the famous *Snowhead*, which is the highest part of these mountains. Some persons say, that it is twenty thousand feet high; but I think I may venture to assert, that it is not above eight thousand, for Mount St. Gothard in Switzerland, is by no means one of the highest of the Alps, and its elevation above the Mediterranean is not above thirteen thousand feet, and yet there is eternal ice and snow on its summit; whereas here we saw no vestige of ice or snow, though the summer is not yet much advanced. We were not above three hours in getting to the top on foot. The prospect of the great mountains at our feet, and into Bohemia, and Silesia, was striking and magnificent. On the top of the hill there is a plain with a chapel on it, which is visited by pious people once a year.

The persons who live at any distance from these hills, look upon it as a kind of wonder when any person goes to the top of them, and yet I ascended several in other parts of Germany, whose

whose distance from the bottom is much greater, and whose elevation above the Mediterranean is as great again.

Though I was disappointed in my expectations of a great mountain, by finding only a hill of a moderate size, I was extremely pleased with my journey upon the whole. We saw the most romantic landscapes it is possible to imagine, particularly several vallies below the *Schmeekopp*, which were wonderfully picturesque. Most of the hills are covered with wood, and now and then a ragged peak starts up above them. The well watered plains are extremely well cultivated; and, upon the whole, the inhabitants seem to be in better circumstances than those of the level plains of Bohemia.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



